

JPRS 72182

3 November 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1604

EAST

EUROPE

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<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>	1. Report No. JPRS 72182	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
	4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1604		5. Report Date 3 November 1978																		
7. Author(s)		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	6.																		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	11. Contract/Grant No.																		
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	14.																		
15. Supplementary Notes																					
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
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17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms																					
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																					
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. N 99																		
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price A05																		

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CSO: 2400



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### ROLE OF CONTROL WILL BE ENLARGED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 17, Aug 78 pp 13-16

[Article by Milan Razus, member of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission]

[Text] While implementing the economic and social program approved by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ, it is necessary to keep increasing the effectiveness of party work and improving the political-organizational activities of party organs and basic organizations, as well as their indispensable component, control. Experience has confirmed many times that control is an important means of increasing the effectiveness of management and organizational work, education of personnel, and growth of the activity of communists in the implementation of party policy. The importance of party control was emphasized again in the conclusions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee and at okres and kraj conferences. Increasingly more complex tasks require more demanding control, firm and well-grounded party discipline, and responsibility for the implementation of resolutions. It is necessary to deal with greater determination with inadequacies and to eliminate shortcomings to maintain, intensify and strengthen the continuity of getting positive results and to better utilize the advantages and opportunities offered by our national economy.

Control is necessary to make sure that party organizations and organs, communists in state and economic organs and social organizations learn what the actual situation concerning implementation of tasks is, that they be able to eliminate obstacles and shortcomings in time and in an informed manner, and universalize positive experience. Without control of the way in which people perform their tasks and obligations one cannot talk about good management. At the same time, management requires more than superficial knowledge or a subjective idea of the work of the people, of conditions in a given

area or sector. It is necessary to confront systematically the requirements outlined in the given norms and resolutions with the actual state of their implementation so that deviations may be identified in time and a more precise picture of the real situation obtained, and to look for ways which would bring about the optimal situation.

#### Active Participation of Broadest Masses of the Working People

The CPCZ Central Committee is consistently making sure that implementation of the resolutions and tasks is controlled by each party organ and each basic organization, every functionary and party member, and that the broadest masses of the working people take an active part in the control process. New, higher criteria concerning the work of communists in industry, agriculture, transportation, construction, trade, services, in the entire economic base, and also in the superstructure, as outlined at the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee apply also fully to control, which must be systematic and effective. It must be active in all spheres, in all sectors, and at all levels. Control must be exercised more consistently than before to help implement the more complex tasks assigned to workplaces and centers, reveal unutilized resources and overcome difficulties.

If we emphasize the idea of intensifying control activities, it does not mean that party organs and basic organizations should take over the tasks of state and economic organs. As stated by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee: "On the contrary, they must choose such style and division of labor that one could see quite clearly the responsibility of state and economic organs or the tasks which it is their duty to solve. Any substitution of state and economic organs and social organizations reduces their responsibility, produces alibis, leads to opportunism in practice." The quintessence of party activities is political management, organizational, personnel, and educational activities, work among the people and orientation, coordination, and control of the activities of communists in state and economic organs.

The requirement of maintaining highly demanding standards in the control of implementation of party resolutions is related closely to the implementation of the strategic line of the 15th CPCZ Congress with regard to the growth of effectiveness and quality of all work, acceleration of scientific-technical progress and constant consolidation of the close relationships between communists and the working people. From that point of view, what is of exceptional significance is for control to carry out its active role, particularly where it leads to overcoming difficulties and shortcomings, imposing growing requirements on cadres and increased activity of all CPCZ members and candidates in the struggle for consistent implementation of the conclusions and resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress of the CPCZ. As shown by the results of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, much has been done so far but a great deal of work lies ahead.

In implementing the active role of control, the CPCZ review and audit commissions also gained positive experience. After the 15th CPCZ Congress they made a number of checks to evaluate the implementation of the resolutions of the Central Committee concerning systematic improvement of the party membership base, the work concerning cadres and personnel, and the work of party organizations in central organs and institutions.

What helps to enforce consistently the party regulations and improve internal party life are checks designed to see how membership meetings perform the function of the highest organ of a basic organization and school of education of communists; how basic organizations apply their rights to inspect the activities of economic management in production establishments and enterprises, how party organs and organizations carry out the principles designed to improve the operational system in handling observations made at membership meetings and conferences, and so on. The commissions submitted the results to party organs for discussion, as a rule with provisions which have been accepted by the inspected basic party organizations in order to eliminate the shortcomings revealed during the inspections. Many kraj and okres party organs also adopted their own measures to improve the work in the appropriate sectors.

During these inspections, the commissions do not provide a substitute for the activities conducted by party organs and organizations. Instead, they help intensify their active role. In harmony with the needs of the controlling party organs, they concentrate on the key tasks and weak points, they help to make cognitive activities more objective and to optimize management and consolidate party responsibility and discipline.

#### Exceptional Attention Paid to Formulation and Implementation of Party Resolutions

From the point of view of the conclusions of the 11th Central Committee plenum as well as of the experience gained during inspections, the active role of control in the political and organizational activities of basic organizations has been coming more and more to the foreground. What was particularly informative in that respect was labor control combined with resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee, which was conducted last year by the majority of control and audit commissions in almost 1,500 party organizations. On the basis of specific findings made on the spot, membership meetings adopted measures designed to improve the work together with resolutions passed by the Central Committee.

Committees of basic organizations require that party groups and members become better acquainted with the Central Committee resolutions published in the press and that they prepare for their practical application to the conditions of workplaces and other places covered by the discussions of membership meetings. The measures also pertain to efforts to increase the care in preparation of reports and proposals concerning the resolutions for membership meetings, application of the principle of collective action in party

work, integration of party groups, communists from the economic management and social organizations to carry out and control the measures which have been adopted, and to evaluate the implementation of the specific tasks assigned to party members and candidates.

Many party organizations more consistently enforced the right of control of the activities of economic management so that the quality of management work would improve with active participation of communists and the state plan tasks would be carried out, reserves would be used better and the concern for production quality and efficiency would increase.

The results of work control and the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee are used by kraj and okres committees to prepare party members assigned to assist basic organizations. The need for substantially improving the work on the resolutions was emphasized also by the CPCZ Central Committee at its March session: "Party resolutions must reach promptly those elements where decisions are made concerning their implementation. It is necessary to improve the quality of all stages of work concerning the resolutions, their timely and complex application in accordance with local conditions, creation of the procedure, responsibility and implementation of a consistent implementation and control.

Experience confirms fully that active control can be brought about only when it is cognitive and regulation. It must be pointed out in this respect that the cognitive aspect of control, that is, a comparison of the desirable conditions determined by the given norm, resolutions, and so on, together with the actual conditions of their implementation, is meaningful only when it is followed directly by the main feature: correction of shortcomings.

We learn facts not merely to know them, but also to change them in harmony with our goals. One cause for inefficient control, as found during various inspections, is failure to appreciate its cognitive and regulatory aspects. These shortcomings are often merely stages, but no adequate conclusions are drawn from them, and no effective measures are adopted which would provide for a positive change, optimal implementation of the given tasks. The result is that some organs and basic organizations cannot put those measures into effect.

As emphasized by V. I. Lenin, correction of shortcomings is always the main element of control. If shortcomings have been discovered, effective measures designed to improve the situation must be adopted and implemented. However, in many places the people still spend much time and energy on organizing meetings, consultations, and writing reports, the findings of which show that the adopted resolutions have not been carried out. The resolutions call for demanding attitudes toward requirements and responsibility at work, but there is no specific criticism of the persons who caused the shortcomings or for specific, well-identified, and timely measures designed to improve the situation.

Such fictitious control has a negative impact on people's views and their attitude to tasks and it weakens their trust in our ability to solve problems and eliminate shortcomings. It is always necessary to seek a way out, to consult the people and show what has to be done, so that the situation improves. One must not take only half measures. Instead, one must be really demanding with regard to the cadres, one must require that they carry out their tasks creatively, accurately, and on time.

The question of the active role of control is closely related to the correct approach to the control of the implementation of the resolutions. V. I. Lenin always emphasized that it is necessary to control the actual results and not determine merely whether the resolution was discussed, or whether measures were approved to implement it. What is of key importance is not the question as to how often a party organ, organizations, or a responsible worker deals with the implementation of the resolution, how many measures he adopts to carry out the resolution, but what factual results this brings, what has been changed as compared to the original condition, whether the conflict between the desired conditions and the actual conditions are being overcome, or to what extent they are being overcome.

A mere finding that the responsible management worker discussed the tasks and issued directives to his subordinates without checking on the results obtained leads to a formal approach and superficial implementation of control. As emphasized in the report of the Presidium of the Central Committee at the 15th CPCZ Congress, "The decisive criteria of the effectiveness of the work of party organs, organizations, and every communist are the specific political and operational results in the sector for which they are responsible and where they are active."

#### Constructive Function of Criticism and Self-Criticism Should Be Fully Understood

Some workplaces are lagging behind in fulfillment of the state plan in providing for the assortment needed on the domestic and foreign markets and also in terms of product quality. However, management workers are very slow to follow a more demanding course to overcome the shortcomings. In many cases there is a lack of critical self-critical approach, there is no search for inner reserves, and the result is that people try to blame everything on external causes. The party organization--as emphasized in the closing words of Comrade Gustav Husak at the 9th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee--cannot mechanically approve the actions of the economic management. It must penetrate more deeply into the problems of the workplaces, express its own views based on the tasks of party policy, reveal on time the reasons for the shortcomings, and orient management economic workers in such a way that they control more effectively the implementation of their own instructions and directives, make better use of the creative activity of the manual laborers, technicians, and all the workers to overcome difficulties, and not hesitate to draw conclusions and take action against those who approach the tasks irresponsibly.

A correct attitude of economic management workers to the right of control by the party organization, to the proposals and critical observations of both communists and nonparty workers is an important criterion of their ability to manage and control with the participation of the working people.

If an economic worker reacts with irritation to the observations or ignores correct proposals and suggestions, such an attitude is not conducive to creating a favorable atmosphere for the development of criticism and self-criticism. When criticism of shortcomings is taken as a personal attack or disrespect, when people do everything to find "arguments" so that the criticism would be discredited at any cost, then one cannot create a substantive and effective atmosphere, an attitude based on principles, and comradely relations, and as a result the shortcomings accumulate.

The report of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee presented at the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee makes the following observations: "The main point is that the constructive function of criticism and self-criticism should be fully understood at every place of work, in every collective, that one would reveal effectively the shortcomings, enforce progressive development trends in production and in the life of the entire society, and that people would be educated in the spirit of high requirements and responsibility."

Even for the control and audit commissions of the CPCZ at all levels of the party structure and for their numerous personnel, the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee has been a significant incentive for improving their work, particularly for increasing the quality and effectiveness of control activities. Consistent instrumentation of Leninist principles of control--objectiveness, work with facts, universality, party spirit and demanding attitude, collective approach, publishing of the results of control, preventive actions--these things are and must be for them a law which must not be violated.

The control of observation of the statutes, the resolutions of the 15th Congress and of the Central Committee, discussions of the results at membership meetings in the party organizations which are being expected, together with measures worked out by management workers and party committees, must reach faster the level of complex tasks, so that the audit would be an effective aid in overcoming obstacles and eliminating shortcomings.

Joint coordinated control actions of commissions at all levels and cooperation of the commissions with departments of the competent party organs have been proving their value for a number of years. The audit involves more and more communists who are specialists from various areas of the national economy, workers of the People's Control Committee and other control organs outside the party. This makes it possible to check in a more penetrating way on the approach of communists and party organizations to the implementation of party policy in the appropriate areas, to prepare a comprehensive analysis of the actual state of affairs, determine causes of the shortcomings, and

help to eliminate them. The personnel consists of many thousands of people who are members of industrial and local control and audit commissions of the CPCZ who were elected at conferences at the beginning of this year. Their own activities and methodological assistance through higher level commissions and training in preparation of their members contribute effectively to intensification and development of control activities by the party in enterprises, establishments and local administration.

However, there still are considerable reserves in implementing a more demanding control, in the process of carrying out the resolutions of the Central Committee and party organs at all levels. In many cases, there is absence of planned and well-organized work in the control of important resolutions, careful processing and analysis of the established facts; there is objectivization and discussion at membership meetings of party organizations, assistance in the preparation of effective measures designed to improve the situation. Some commissions are assuming too many sectional tasks, and the result is that the quality and effectiveness of their work decreases. What is important precisely in the area of control is to do less but better so that matters are brought to an end.

#### Permanent Control of Weak Points

Some commissions gained good experience in checking on the approach of communists-management workers and party organizations in the main contracting establishments to the handling of deliveries and work designed to develop the second stage of petrochemistry in the "Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Chemical Works" in Litvinov. In the presence of 130 members who are specialists, this control was done in 20 facilities. Cooperation of the CPCZ Central Control Audit Commission with the departments of the CPCZ Central Committee for party work in industry, transportation, construction, and services, with the economic department of the CPCZ Central Committee and with the People's Control Committee of the CSSR made it possible to act in a complex manner in activating communists in the appropriate central organs, investment organs, and in contracting establishments and enterprises in the interest of the implementation of the tasks within the prescribed time limits.

Correct organization and a well-thought-out methodical approach, continuity with regard to the previous control of project and investment preparation, initiation of the work on time--all this helps to establish coordinated control of high quality. In spite of the complexity, technological demands, high share of deliveries to foreign countries, and an exceptionally short period of time needed for the development, successful efforts were made to increase the discipline and responsibility of the contractors, eliminate a number of weak points and shortcomings, and increase the effectiveness of political and organizing activities of party organizations, and as a result create conditions for successful implementation of development work.

This was made possible by active participation of party organizations in control, concrete and specific action in determining the shortcomings in the

implementation of economic contracts, open comradely criticism and self-criticism, drawing consequences from the responsibility of those who did not approach the tasks in the party spirit and in a demanding manner. Naturally until the time comes to complete the construction work, it is necessary to maintain systematic and continuous control of measures adopted by management workers of investment organs, construction and installation organizations, and suppliers of technological equipment, as well as measures taken by the competent ministries.

What constitutes indispensable means of increasing the demanding nature and effectiveness of activities involved in party control is consistent control of implementation of measures adopted to eliminate the shortcomings which have been discovered. One must act on the basis of the fact that control does not end when the results of control are discussed in a party organ or at a membership meeting.

One must face the possibility of the danger that the adopted measures may be forgotten, that the tasks may become a formality, and that the efforts may not bring the desirable results. Without follow-up in control and effective elimination of shortcomings, one cannot consider any control to be completed. This is confirmed fully by experience gained in follow-up control in central organs and intermediate elements of management.

V. I. Lenin did not seek improvements of shortcomings in meting out punishment or merely in punishing the culprits. In each case, it was above all a question of correcting the situation, examining the trends to see whether the shortcomings discovered are actually being eliminated. He asked for "permanent control" of weak points, he asked that there be "control again" to determine what has been done and how it has been done--advise and then repeat the control until the results are acceptable.

Control and follow-up control is a form of assistance to party organs and organizations as well as management workers. It helps to create an atmosphere of intransigent attitude toward sluggishness and inconsistent behavior, it does not allow anyone to rest on his laurels, it forces people to seek ways to obtain better results. It is natural that control can be effective only when the adopted resolutions are concrete, specific, when they are given time limits and are implemented responsibly. However, it is unthinkable to have demanding control without drawing conclusions and making responsible those who cause serious shortcomings because of their negligence, lack of discipline, and irresponsibility. Efforts to cover up certain negative phenomena in the actions of people are in sharp conflict with the requirements of party members. As has happened in a number of cases, such efforts result in accumulation of shortcomings until they reach great proportions, and then the worker must be removed from his position.

The process of enforcing the active role of control in the varied daily activities of party organs and organizations helps to overcome psychological



blocks, which are reflected in the concern of the persons covered by the control that it is a sort of search for negative aspects, disruptions, and errors, and of the results which ensue from it. It makes it possible to put control in a proper light as an inseparable part of organizational and management work, as an effective tool for implementing everything which is new and progressive.

Consistent control over implementation of the resolutions in all areas and at all levels, systematic efforts to increase the effectiveness and active role of control creative finding and application of the best methods and forms of its implementation will help to reach new good results in the implementation of the great and complex tasks outlined at the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUA VISIT SEEN AS PART OF SUBVERSIVE POLICY OF PEKING

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 37, 13 Sep 78 p 15

[Article by Jan Pesek: "Discrepancy of Words and Deeds"]

[Text] The first major foreign trip of CCP Chairman Hua Kuo-feng was to Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran. Like so many times before, it has now become evident, that the attention of the world public which has been concerned about Chinese domestic and foreign political concepts, is not for nothing, nor is the apprehension of progressive people throughout the world, perturbed by the tactics of the Chinese leadership. For visits of the Chinese representatives have shown once again, how great the discrepancy between their words and deeds is. The flagrant attacks against the Soviet Union, the accusations of hegemony, the assurances of loyalty to the policy of noninterference, the efforts for cooperation, peace and so on--all this cannot mask reality. And reality is the exact opposite.

The goal of the domestic political concepts held by the current Chinese representatives and of their actions in the international field is to ensure the implementation of their big-power expansionist plans. The events of the recent period show that these plans seriously threaten the countries neighboring on China, but not only them. Suffice it to recall the occupation of the Paracel Islands in the South China Sea, the continuing occupation of the Indian territory, the actual intervention in Burma, the interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam, China's role of incitement in the Cambodian-Vietnamese conflict, and so on. It was not by chance that the route of the trip of the delegation headed by Hua Kuo-feng led along the borders of the Soviet Union. One of the main features of the Chinese policy namely is the endeavor not only to slander the Soviet Union but also to isolate it from the rest of the world and most impartially the endeavor to drive a wedge between the socialist countries.

Peking has long propagandized and advocated the idea of creating a broad international "united front" against peace and progress, which in practice means cooperation with imperialism and the world reaction and an open struggle against socialism and the international communist and national liberation movements.

In accordance with the insidious designs of the Chinese ruling representatives a Sino-American pact should become the core of this "united Front." One of the latest issues of the Soviet journal NOVOYE VREMYA stressed that "...the identity of the anti-Soviet position of Peking and the representatives of the American government was confirmed in May of this year at the meeting of leading Chinese officials with Z. Brzezinski, advisor for national security affairs to the president of the United States."

This is but one of the links in the anti-Soviet and antisocialist chain which Peking is attempting to forge. Let us recall some other links.

It is possible to consider the recent signing of the Sino-Japanese "treaty on peace and friendship" unambiguously as a manifestation of the plans for the creation of an antisocialist front in the area of the Far East. Since its signing there have also been increasing the voices which condemn it as an act which threatens peace and security in Asia.

For a long time Peking has been flagrantly interfering in the affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic. The idea of annexing Mongolia on behalf of China has been proclaimed publicly many times. The military preparations of China threaten the security of the Mongolian People's Republic. The demand of Peking for the withdrawal from the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic of the Soviet military units, which are there at the request of the Mongolian government and in line with the treaties on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the USSR and Mongolia, was a new act of interference in the affairs of a sovereign state.

The most characteristic proof of the reactionary nature of the policy of the Chinese leadership is its battle against socialist Vietnam, in which it is using the crudest methods and means, including cynical armed provocations, attacks and assaults.

Peking has also unleashed a spiteful propaganda campaign against Cuba, is attempting to discredit the international, unselfish assistance of Cuba to the national liberation movements and the struggle of African nations, is attacking the policy of that country in the movement of unaligned countries and wishes to discredit Cuba in the eyes of these countries.

Part of the political endeavor of Peking to isolate the socialist countries, to discredit their domestic political and international achievements and to decrease their prestige is the fact that along with the open hostile activity some more cunning and insidious elements are appearing. A case in point is, for example, the method of the so-called "differentiated approach" to the socialist countries which is characteristic for the world reaction and international imperialism and the goal of which is to break up the ideological political unity of the countries of the socialist community.

It is also necessary to recall the subversive policy toward the world communist movement which is led by means of Maoist groups which China is creating in various countries.

The danger which is ensuing from the Maoist policy, which is aimed against peace, detente and friendly cooperation, rests on the increasing militarization of the country. In China 40 percent of the state budget annually is spent for military purposes, of this over \$2 billion are for the development of the nuclear missile potential.

All those who back the Maoist leadership of China are acting at variance with the efforts of nations on the relaxation of tensions and the establishment of peace in the world. In his address in Minsk in June of this year Central Committee CPSU Secretary General and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet L.I. Brezhnev said this in relation to the policy of adventurism in international relations: "In recent times in a number of countries and on a high level attempts to play the Chinese card against the USSR have been undertaken in a fairly cynical manner. This is a short-sighted and dangerous policy. Their authors should take care that they might not have cause to regret it bitterly."

For "Chinese card" is not a trump, it is only speculative and, from the point of view of international development, reactionary and unpromising.

7807-R

CSO: 2400

CPCZ DAILY REVIEWS ANTICOMMUNIST TRENDS IN ITALY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Oct 78 p 6 AU

[Article by Alois Volf: "Unrest in the Italian Autumn; the Neofascists Are Again Becoming Active"]

[Text] After the temporary abatement of the wave of terror in Italy during August and the first half of September, the local political underground has again begun striving to develop its bloody activities in the last few weeks. This was confirmed by the assassination of a foreman of the Turin automobile plant, a university student in Rome and another in Naples, and by the case of three persons in Milan who suffered gunshot wounds apart from other assassination attempts. All of them were people with mostly antifascist leanings.

The powerful protest demonstrations in Milan, Rome, Bologna and elsewhere against these crimes all showed an unambiguous tenor of an emphatic warning to the bullies who are again attempting to turn the streets of the cities into shooting ranges with live targets, to spread fear and tension and, simply, to intensify the instability of the present government structure in parliament.

Simultaneously the sharp propaganda campaign against the Italian communists is increasing; its main theme is the alleged responsibility of the PCI, but also of the present DC leadership, for Aldo Moro's death--a responsibility ascribed to the principled negative attitude toward carrying out political "bartering" with Moro's kidnappers. The campaign was first started at the beginning of Summer by the Socialist Party's leadership (Craxi); soon it was joined by the conservative wing of the leadership of Christian Democrats (DC), headed by the ill-famed Atlantist Fanfani. In substance they are both concerned with the same thing that the armed gangs of neofascists and Maoists are concerned with--with breaking the present bloc of national unity of constitutional democratic parties, including the PCI, which is the support of the present unicolor, so-called emergency, DC government in the parliament. Their concern is simply to return to the old order of things, which had led Italy to the verge of a catastrophe--a conspicuous harmony of aims in the two seemingly opposed streams.

The unexpected death of the recently elected Pope John Paul I one temporarily subdued this coordinated crusade campaign of the inveterate adversaries of the present parliamentary majority with the communists, but it will undoubtedly break out again very soon.

The campaign also includes the activities of subversive elements in the security bodies and their supervisory ministry, which is testified to, among other things, also by the leaking of important information to the staffs of so-called Red Brigades during the protracted search for Aldo Moro's kidnapers and murderers. Today nobody, not even the commentators of certain West European bourgeois papers, excludes any more the possibility that here we could have both agents of terrorist gangs and also agents of foreign intelligence services manipulating them.

Thus the situation is rather complicated; simultaneously it precisely reflects the political marasmus in the country after more than 30 or 30 years of the power monopoly of the most servile lackeys of the United States among the DC leadership.

Thus it is not at all surprising that now in particular the most vulgar anticommunism and anti-Sovietism have such a broad "green light" in Italy; they are meant to weaken the PCI's influence and the attractiveness of socialism among the working people, distract their attention from the social crisis in the country and prevent their recognizing the truth about a society without any unemployed and without crises, without social and existential uncertainty and, apart from other things, also without political and gangsterite banditry. This, however, is Sisyphus' work.

CSO: 2400

SUCCESS OF SOCIAL SERVICES IN CSR

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 37, 13 Sep 78 p 3

[Article by Emilian Hamernik, CSR Minister of Labor and Social Affairs:  
"Lifetime Security"]

[Text] Lifetime security and the social policies of the Communist Party and socialist state are concepts which in essence are inseparable. Their aim is to develop the all-around creative capabilities of man and produce optimal working and living conditions for him. Everyone can verify this in any sociopolitical measures.

Many provisions of this type were included in the economic and social programs of the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses. We managed to carry them out well in the last five-year plan and we are also successfully carrying them out in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. There has been a striking improvement in the welfare of workers, families with children, in retirement guarantees, in care for old and sick persons and in other sectors of social policy.

Concern for Workers

The right to work and the opportunity to exercise it broadly are taken for granted here. But we know well that this is not the case everywhere in the world where many even highly qualified persons, especially young people, cannot, as the saying goes, even touch a job. We, on the other hand, suffer from a chronic labor shortage. This is a logical consequence of the tremendous socialist industrialization, the development of free as well as paid services and the unfavorable population development from the mid-fifties up to the year 1970. Therefore, one of the top priority tasks of bodies in the economic sphere is the gradual reduction of the shortage of workers.

In a socialist society, labor rights provisions are formulated to correspond to the political and economic objectives of a given stage of development and the legitimate interests of the workers. The goal of labor legislation is to strike a balance between the state of labor morale and the right to work, between discharging the obligations issuing from labor rights regulations and the social achievements of the workers.

The economic, cultural and political achievements of socialism create not only new technology and material values but at the same time also new relationships among people. Socialist development of production--as Friedrich Engels wrote in "Principles of Communism"--will need and will create new people whose capabilities will have all-around application. Therefore, in a developed socialist society every economic organization will try to implement social conditions of labor. Together with social provisions of a society-wide character a unified complex of socialist concern for the working man is thus created.

Every production organization in our society fulfills two basic tasks. On the one hand it is a production unit, on the other a social collective. The efficiency of economic results depends on how the organization manages to develop, organize, regulate and utilize the initiative of the members of its working collective in conformity with the technical and economic developments. Therefore, work with people, who are the most valuable component of the working force, is indispensable in the management of every organization.

All organizations prepared a comprehensive program of concern for workers in this five-year plan. The goals of these programs are important in determining the substance of collective agreements. The comprehensive programs, however, also contain provisions that go beyond the resources or jurisdiction of the individual organizations, such as in concern for the health of workers, in matters of housing, in establishing joint food facilities in plants as well as preschool facilities, in transportation and the like. The organizations carry out these objectives with the help and cooperation of territorial bodies, particularly national committees. The social policies of organizations thus unite with the social policies of organs of state administration.

The standards of social care for workers and the living conditions of workers achieved in our country are at a level that previous generations would not have dared imagine. Political developments in recent times and the successful expansion of the national economy made it possible to further intensify universal care for workers. In this most important area of our social policies we are constantly implementing higher forms which actively influence the further development of the labor force and our whole economy.

The largest social organization of workers--the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement--carries out its unique role here. In this connection let us mention, merely as an example of the input and initiative of trade unions, the striking increase in job safety and the reduction in numbers of work related accidents, the amendment to the labor code which brought about further advantages for working mothers, the expansion of plant food purveying as well as the development of higher forms of socialist competition and participation of workers in production management and state administration.



## Social Assistance to Families With Children

Social assistance to families with children is an inseparable component of the social policy. Its substance and scope correspond to the new dimension of this policy characteristic of a developed socialist society. The family and good education for the children occupy a leading place in the scale of social values.

One of the most valuable successes of our social policy in the last decade is the reversal in population development. We will long continue to feel the negative impact of this development of the 1950s and 1960s, particularly in the age structure of the population and in the shortage of workers. The favorable population development since the beginning of the 1970s averted the serious danger that threatened the future economic and cultural development of our state and the healthy growth of the nation.

A number of socioeconomic measures were adopted which improved the material conditions of young couples and families with children in general. All forms of this assistance are directed toward the main goal--to create and consolidate the family of the new type which lives in a socialist manner of life and guarantees the future of the nation through the education of a healthy young generation.

Expenditures for social assistance to families with children came to almost Kcs 18 billion last year in the CSR. It is the largest amount ever expended in 1 year from social resources for these purposes. And this does not include the extra billions of korunas for the construction of communal, enterprise and cooperative apartments and family homes which hundreds of thousands of young couples with children moved into in the course of the last decade. Through social assistance to families with children we create the conditions for their equitable position in work and in society and for the harmonious fulfillment of the tasks of mothers and women economically active and socially involved. One of the objectives of this assistance is the rapid increase in places in preschool facilities. In 1977 73 percent of the children from 3 to 6 years of age were in kindergartens: we have thereby already exceeded the goals we set for ourselves for the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

## High Standards of Social Security

Two basic principles form the high level of our social security--its universality and its comprehensiveness. This means that every citizen has a firm social guarantee of material security in case of illness and in old age, that the benefits and services of social security complement one another and are linked together and that optimal conditions are prescribed to provide these benefits and services.

Senior and chronically ill citizens are assured first of all of regular monthly social benefits by law--an income. In addition needy citizens are granted further assistance from social resources in the form of various social services.

The new law on retirement guarantees has been in effect since 1976. It eliminated the unjustified differences in the pension rights of cooperative farmers and other workers, it abolished the special tax on income and knocked out the merit point of view in allocating pensions.

Last year the CSR paid out almost Kcs 27 billion in pensions which is 16 per cent more than in 1975. By the end of the year 2,600,000 pensions had been paid. The average amount of old-age pensions granted was Kcs 1,280; that was Kcs 180 more than in 1975. Some 620,000 pensioners took advantage last year of the new regulations on receiving pensions while continuing to work.

The age limit for granting old age pensions--60 years for men and a lower age for women, depending on the number of children--is one of the basic social guarantees for our workers. Hostile propaganda sometimes tries to persuade some of our skeptical people that these age limits will be raised. Because in the West they are not able to offer such achievements and social security as in a socialist society they at least try to scare our people into thinking that we will go along with the economically most highly developed capitalist countries where the worker has the opportunity to retire much later than here.

Retirement guarantees supplement various forms of social services for the elderly. One of the most sought after is care for old people in retirement homes. The level of institutionalized social care has reached a very high degree in recent years. At present there are more than 300 institutions of social care for adults in the CSR with almost 37,000 beds. An even better solution for an elderly single person is to remain in the surroundings in which he lived all his life. Therefore, in towns and centralized communities they are modifying smaller apartments into category I apartments or are building new small-sized apartments in which older people live in peace and contentment, provided with a good standard of social services, particularly nursing care. In the last decade the number of citizens given nursing care in the CSR has grown to over 25,000 and the number of units in homes offering nursing services is over 2600.

Social services are an important part of social policy, an expression of the true humaneness of the socialist society.

We will intensify the extent and level of these services in accordance with the principles which the government stipulated last year for the continuing development of social care for elderly and disabled citizens.

Ten years ago the enemies of socialism declared that we were standing on the brink of an economic collapse and social decadence, that there surely would be a currency reform and that the living standard of workers would markedly decline. They claimed that we would not be able to solve any of the social problems of society and they also came up with other concoctions. The results of the last 10 years have provided a categorical answer. Our people are living in peace with auspicious prospects of continuing universal development of society. They realized that only in a socially just society can man assert all of his creative abilities, better satisfy his vital needs and have solid social guarantees in every life situation.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### WEST GERMAN TREATMENT OF CSSR HIJACKERS CRITICIZED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Oct 78 p 7

[Article by Julius P. Lorincz: "A Pat for Criminals"]

[Text] The State Court in Frankfurt am Main was unusually generous: It sentenced two hijackers of a Czechoslovak airplane, Vlastislav Toupalik and Ruzena Vickova, to milder punishment than requested by the prosecutor (six instead of eight and three and a half instead of six and a half years of imprisonment). Only one week ago another Czechoslovak air pirate, Ladislav Molnar, was treated with similar generosity by the West German judiciary. If hijackings of Lufthansa aircraft were involved, their perpetrators would possibly not even go to court. Specially trained West German armed units would shoot them to pieces, even in Africa, and the official propaganda would loudly acclaim such a deed.

But people in the Federal Republic of Germany feel open "sympathy" for hijackers from socialist countries. They "understand the political motivation" of their actions as they call it. It suffices for the hijackers to blurt out something about the "desire for freedom" despite the fact that everyone--responsible authorities in the FRG included--realizes that questionable, sometimes clearly criminal elements are involved, such as Becvar and others. Even Toupalik earned a lighter punishment and "consideration" of the court because he, together with his attorneys, supplied the press with anti-Czechoslovak and anti-communist slander. The FRG authorities simply feel no hesitation about lending a political connotation to a dangerous crime, such as a hijacking of an airplane together with its passengers, which certainly represents jeopardy to dozens of people and to the security of air transportation. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG openly wrote some time ago that it was necessary to apply a double standard to hijacking of aircraft and cynically maintained that hijacking of airplanes from socialist countries did not have anything to do with terrorism. This constitutes a reprehensible attitude toward crime as well as a dangerous encouragement of terrorism.

The case is all the more important when we realize that it obviously is not just a newspaper's opinion. Even the authorities follow this line when they--for the instance--consistently ignore the Czechoslovak government's requests

for extradition of the hijackers. Such is the behavior of authorities of a country which appears in international forums as a passionate fighter against terrorism and especially against air piracy. Let us recall that the Federal Republic of Germany suggested in the UN that an international convention against terrorism be prepared and that it demanded that no member state should grant asylum to air pirates. A request for extradition of perpetrators of this type of crime is in full accord with the international agreement concerning suppression of illegal seizure of aircraft as agreed upon in The Hague in December 1970. Among the contracting parties of said agreement is the CSSR as well as the FRG. The same is true of the agreement on suppression of illegal activities endangering civil air transportation, agreed upon in Montreal in September 1971. Furthermore, the Federal Republic of Germany is, together with six other leading capitalist states, a co-author of a document on struggle against air piracy, dated the summer of this year. A FRG representative even presented this document to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs approximately a month ago.

Is it possible that authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany do not respect their own words? A double standard applied to crimes deservedly brings about the feeling that we are facing an untrustworthy double morality. Even many FRG newspapers recognized that hijacking of an airplane may become an irreversible tragedy for many people, hence it has to be considered a crime. Generosity toward perpetrators of such a crime not only encourages air piracy but also, to put it very diplomatically, it does not exert any constructive influence on relations between states, concretely on those between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany. Our relations are developing in a very promising way and we have to ask ourselves whether it pays to endanger them by "giving a pat" to the hijackers of a Czechoslovak aircraft.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### MOST SERIOUS CSSR CRIME PROBLEMS LISTED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Sep 78 p 1

[Unsigned article: "There Should Be More Respect for the Law"]

[Excerpt] There is no question but that many facts indicate that socialist legality is being consolidated in Czechoslovakia. For example, there is a decline in certain types of criminal acts, a gradual decrease in the number of complaints on the part of the working people and a decrease in labor disputes and disputes settled by arbitration. However, one cannot close one's eyes to individual cases of disrespect for the law, for the interests of the entire society, for the rights of citizens. If we look at this area of our life and apply the criteria of the 11th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the March session of the CPSL Central Committee and at the requirement to increase efficiency and quality of all types of work which those sessions emphasized, it appears that there still exist serious problems and shortcomings in the process of eliminating various causes and conditions of criminality--the most dangerous form of violation of legality from the social point of view. This is true primarily of the most important phenomena: criminal activity against the socialist economy, recidivism, the effect of alcohol on commitment of criminal acts and misdemeanors and the growing seriousness of the criminality of Gypsy citizens. Juvenile delinquency also is added to that. Although the number of juveniles sentenced for criminal acts and misdemeanors is decreasing, one cannot be satisfied with the present situation because we find among those juveniles persons who committed serious criminal acts, robberies, pilfering on a large scale, violence, disturbance of the peace, and so on.

Criminal acts and misdemeanors which have caused losses to the Czechoslovak economy continue to have a substantial share in the overall criminality, even though their number decreased slightly last year and during the first half of this year. The Czechoslovak economy suffers serious losses not only as a result of pilfering of property in socialist ownership, but especially as a result of opportunism and lack of discipline on the part of those economic managers who violate the rules of the labor law and economic law, technical and technological norms and safety and fire-fighting regulations. Let us remind ourselves that fires take every year a piece of the slice of bread gained by hard work. Just during the current half of the year, fires

caused direct damage of more than Kcs 31 million, and 22 human lives perished in their flames. Nor can one be satisfied with the fact that punishment is not meted out in all cases of parasitism, bribery, and other types of corruption which have taken roots in the economic sphere, mostly in relations between suppliers and buyers but also in the field of performing work and providing services for the benefit of citizens. The number of uncovered cases does not correspond to the actual number of such incidents. We are dealing with latent criminality which requires considerable efforts in detecting the crimes. These criminal acts are committed often by entire groups of workers, including responsible economic functionaries. This causes also political damage which is difficult to estimate. Departmental control organs are very much behind in discovering and reporting economic crimes. The proof that their activity is inadequate and the level of their work low is the fact that they report only an insignificant part--only 12 percent--of criminal acts discovered within their jurisdiction to the appropriate organs.

The situation concerning recidivism is not satisfactory, either. In spite of energetic action on the part of criminal organs against persons who repeatedly commit criminal acts and misdemeanors, the proportion of recidivists sentenced for criminal acts increased last year to 38 percent of the total number of persons receiving sentences. Recidivists who have served their sentence often return to the same environment which has been the contributing factor in their repeated collision with the law. As a rule, they are not assigned--even though they could and should be--to such labor collectives that are willing and able to educate them effectively. The undertaking to help them must not be a mere formality but they must be helped through meaningful acts of everyday life and led to carry out properly their obligations at work as well as other obligations as citizens, and the effort must not be given up when they fail at first.

Another serious antisocial phenomenon--alcoholism--is not to our credit, either. Its negative consequences experienced for many years are sufficiently known. They manifest themselves in social and economic life, in family, marriage and in the education of children, in transportation and at the workplace, where it results in absenteeism, fluctuation and accidents at work, and outside the workplace. Alcohol clearly contributes to criminal acts and misdemeanors. Its share increases every year, last year it increased to over 40 percent. It is a paradox that since the law on struggle against alcoholism came into effect in 1962, the number of criminal acts committed under the influence of alcohol has almost trebled. The consequences of excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages also affect the young generation, disrupt its healthy development and moral upbringing. However, at the same time one can count on the fingers of one hand the number of persons sentenced each year for the criminal act of serving alcoholic beverages to juveniles, even though it happens quite frequently, often before the eyes of functionaries of national committees, social organizations and parents who obviously should not be indifferent to that. Nor can one underestimate alcoholism. Secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, speaking at

the recent 18th Congress of the Leninist Komsomol, described alcoholism as a manifestation of mental debility. A fitting thought, which gives more than food for thought.

The method of socialist legality includes formulation of legal norms and their purposeful introduction in life. The prerequisite of its consistent application is a high level of socialist legal thought. The principle that care for increasing legal consciousness of citizens and observation of socialist legality is one of the basic ways of intensifying socialist democracy in our society has been valid in the past and continues to be valid. It must be the basis of activities of every state organ, economic and social organization, it must formulate the thinking and acting of citizens. Every courageous citizen should not only be acquainted with the content of the laws and with his rights and obligations but he should become a convincing champion of the respect for the law and strive to make sure that other citizens also respect them. They are obligated to do so by the highest Czechoslovak law, the Czechoslovak Constitution. The Constitution says that the citizens are obligated to observe in their every act the Constitution and other laws and to be concerned with the interests of the socialist state and of the society of working people. An intrinsic part of civic duties is also the respect for the rights of other citizens, a principled observation of the rules of socialist coexistence.

Also on this front, communists must take place in the first line. By the power of personal example, they must continue to help in increasing the respect for the law.

5668-R  
CSO: 2400

ON THE PLEASURES OF SHOPPING IN KOSICE, SLOVAKIA

[Editorial Report AU] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 12 October on page 3 carries a 1,500-word article by Eva Bombova, entitled "On the Other Side of the Counter." The article is devoted to the work of a group of young salesgirls, members of the Socialist Youth Union, the the Kosice "Prior" department store. They discuss with Bombova among other things some less enjoyable aspects of their work, such as, for example, having not infrequently to inform customers that the product they ask for is not available.

Bombova's article begins as follows:

'The young salesgirls in particular often seem to me not concentrating on their work, God only knows what they are thinking about...'

'I get angry when I ask how to treat the purchased product and they only shrug their shoulders, they do not know...'

'It is a bore to go shopping nowadays although I do not want anything special, and still hear: we do not have it...'

'If you are from a newspaper, then write that under the counter everything is available, but not for everyone. Today there is no use in going shopping without the right connections...'

'If you like adventure go upstairs to buy furniture. If you are lucky and find something you like you have not won yet. When it is delivered to your home it is completely different stuff...'

'Aw, go away, they have no pantyhose, they have no raincoats, they have no washing powder BUTAL and you are yakking here about being satisfied.'

'I like to select things myself, in peace, therefore I have come here, I like self-service, if only the choice were better...'

'I am not going to tell you anything, you might publish in the newspaper that I am shirking work...'



All these sentences you just read I heard from the customers of the Kosice  
Prior department store on the way to attend a meeting to which I was invited  
by the representatives of the local 260-member youth union organization."

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

ARSONIST BLAMED IN LIMOUSINE FIRE--This morning [16 October 1978], 2 hours after midnight, a fire completely destroyed a Tatra 603 car in Prague at 10 on U Seradiste Street. The deliberate act of the still unknown arsonist caused damage of kcs 30,000. [Tatra 603 is a state limousine not for sale to the general public and used exclusively by party and government functionaries or leading economic and local officials.] [Text] [Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 16 Oct 78 p 3 AU]

CSO: 2400

ONE-MAN ANTIAIRCRAFT ROCKET TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 40, 1978 signed to press 2 Oct 78 pp 4-5

[Article by Lt Col Harry Popow: "One Man, One Tube and One Rocket--Launch From the Shoulder--Trained To Hit Low-Flying Targets--The Antiaircraft Rocket Troops"]

[Text] Seven soldiers are about to launch their first live rockets. They stand "at ease." Some joke and pretend to be nonchalant. At the issuing station soldier Stephan Isensee obtains the antiaircraft rocket complex--the launch tube with the rocket and the propellant. The stocky young man hangs the weapon over his back. Excitedly he works his fingers through the carrying straps. Up to now trainers had always been at his side whenever he had to take up the rocket complex. Now he is alone with it and is to launch a rocket from his shoulder and destroy a target. Instructors taught him the tactical-technical data and the physics of the process of firing. They taught him how to safely manipulate the antiaircraft rocket in firing exercises and in combat. He had been trained with the rocket complex to overcome obstacles to assault. He learned to recognize aircraft and to classify them. But what is the best theoretical training as compared with a live launch from the shoulder? In the beginning he had been foolishly reminded of a stovepipe. But then he learned to know the "interior life" of the weapon. He heard of electronic components of which he, the former plasterer, could have had no faintest idea. With his knowledge of the complicated technology his interest grew and there grew in the 19-year-old soldier in his first half year of service a first realization of his responsibility as an antiaircraft rocket soldier....

Strong Nerves Required

From the combat station someone shouts the command for the next stage of readiness. With short rapid steps Stephan Isensee goes to his position--and stumbles. He falls together with his weapon into a hole. The distant observers are alarmed.

Sergeant [Unterfeldwebel] Klaus Henneberg, one of his instructors, asks himself "Are his nerves giving way? Can I have deceived myself?" But he rejects these thoughts. Comrade Isensee had always carried out his assignments

during training. Then why not now? He has confidence in the young soldier and hopes that fear has not entered too deeply into him. Rifleman Isensee stands upright in the breast-high location. His right shoulder carries the antiaircraft rocket complex. Rear sight and forward sight have been unfolded. Safety off, the rocket is ready to launch. He starts to do his observing. His eyes search the cloudy sky. They sweep over the open terrain lying in front of them. In their jargon this is called "evaluation of the background conditions." At the same time his inner calm slowly returns.

"Air target!" At the command he starts involuntarily. Now what it took days, even weeks, to learn must take place in seconds. Again his eyes search the air space, looping systematically from below upward. That, too, he had amply practiced.

Half-left on the horizon a tiny dot! If its flight direction is maintained then at about this point the target will change over from approach to recession. He absolutely must not overshoot the changeover point. To its right there are the boundaries of the launching zone. Stephan Isensee continues to follow the target with his eyes. But at the very next instant when it switches over to receding flight he must be lightning-quick.

The dot gets bigger. A "hostile" aircraft at 300 meters, at 100, at the changeover point! Still some seconds. He aims. A green light goes on. He has the target in his gun sight.

#### Black Tent With Light Reflections

Everything that is now taking place as a single event in a few seconds had cost arduous training. There was, for example, a pitch black tent of black cloth in the middle of a classroom. There he stood almost daily with the heavy antiaircraft rocket complex on his shoulder and above him apparatus resembling a film projector. A motor hummed incessantly and insistently. Outside the tent his instructor, Sergeant Henneberg, sat at a control console. He operated buttons, switches and potentiometers. Then in the tent there appeared on a white projection screen reflected lights simulating the low-flying target. The target moved up and then together with the screen moved along the wall of the tent, now rapidly, now slowly, now high, now low. Or it vanished entirely, as it were, behind the clouds. Nevertheless, it had to be caught. With the aid of an electrical calculator the sergeant determined the amount of time which the rifleman required for this, how many fractions of a second.... In the air space the target has reached the forward boundary of the launching zone. The right index finger pulls the trigger. A piercing whistle issues from the rocket complex. For Stephan Isensee the phase of highest concentration has been attained.

His instructor, following all these motions tensely, recalls at this moment how in the training machine at the beginning of his training this comrade had repeatedly lost the target from his line of sight and had overshot the launching times. Sergeant Klaus Henneberg, who hitherto had launched five

rockets with good marksmanship from his shoulder, over and over again urged the rifleman to concentrate and to show his strength of determination. There the rifleman stood, for example, in the classroom trainer, located the simulated target, followed it, "launched" the rocket. This process was repeated a dozen times. Then, finally, his thoughts slipped away from him. They drifted off in circles and concentration was lost. And his hands, holding the launching tube, became uncertain, lost the target from the gun sight. Whenever Sergeant Henneberg saw this happening he struck the dark tent for awhile, gave the other fellow a rest and conversed with him for awhile in the evening, always trying to make clear to the younger comrade that in combat it is possible to use the one-man antiaircraft rocket effectively only if in addition to ability one possesses a steadfast determination. Soldier Isensee strove for both--ability and determination.

Stephan Isensee counts the seconds: "21, 22" ... the whistling from the rocket complex is still audible; the green light is still on. He is still following the target. He changes the position of the weapon. Now the forward sight aims ahead of the target. Frequently during training he had forgotten this necessary lead. At first this didn't bother him much. But one day he realized--just two mistakes in the launch and everything would be in vain.

A tremendous noise extinguishes all other sounds. The rocket takes off. Behind it a long white trail. A cloud of powder smoke ascends. Stephan Isensee's left hand reaches for his protective goggles and takes them from his eyes. He continues to look at the missile. He sees how it penetrates into the region of the airborne target, sees it guide itself automatically toward the target--and hit. IT HAS HIT!

8008

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

ATTITUDES OF YOUTH TOWARD CHURCH, STATE ANALYZED

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German No 42, 13 Oct 78 p 25

[Article by Heinz Jochen: "Party in East Berlin--'I Just Live Here and That's That'--Young People Talk About Church and State"]

[Text] All they know is the GDR state. Religion and churches are considered superfluous. But reality is altogether different: A new interest has been awakened.

They are having a party in the capital of the GDR. The parents--she, a chief of an enterprise, he, a cadre chief (chief of personnel)--are on vacation. Their only son, an engineering student (with an interest in Germanics, which he allowed, reluctantly, to be redefined by his academic counselor as merely a hobby), invites some young people for his birthday party. The parents know about it. "But no one from the other side," they said, and that was the only condition--insisted on roughly with the same emphasis as they might elsewhere forbid the use of hashish or of the parental bedroom.

Another engineering student joins the party who is just as crazy about literature as the birthday child is. And then there is one who had wanted to study but is now glad that he can work in the theater with the lights in spite of having sent in a "request" (request for foreign travel in appealing to the Helsinki accord). And a girl who actually is studying Germanics. Altogether about 15 young people, all between 20 and 25 years of age.

One of them lives in the southern outskirts. In order to get to the capital he has to pass every day, by train, the skyline of a satellite monster "over there." And he says: every day I decide I won't look at it anymore, but it's disgusting, somehow you remain the little boy, and your eyes are wide open in fascination when the moment comes. Someone else objects. He also, of course, is noticing it every day when he is coming up from Dresden, just before he gets to Schoenefeld, from the Autobahn--there is something peculiar there in the back and it does not belong "to us." But to him it just means a benchmark on his route: "I just live here and that's that."

They chat about that people in the capital at large simply cannot pretend the "other side" does not exist, while for the rest of the republic the issue might seem remote. "Not a day passes here without our seeing someone or something from 'the other side.'" And the fellow from the southern part furthermore is of Sorbian extraction. His national needs are better taken care of "here" than anywhere else and ever before. His compatriots--in the wider sense--all live between Cottbus and Bautzen, or between the Oder and Elbe rivers. All other Germans remain to him, after all, as alien as Austrians or Swiss or Germans other than Sorbian emigrants. His people is not split in half by any wall and what have you. "Actually," he says, "a Czech is closer to me than a West Berliner. But that is no ideological matter--as I would like to emphasize . . ."

The host puts on an old Biermann record. Only the one who works the lights in the theater is listening with attention. The Germanics student and the Sorb keep talking. "Don't you have anything new from 'over there?'" asks the skyline communter, "David Bowie or something?" "They say it's already available in the 'shop,'" the Germanics student interjects. But no one has as yet seen any David Bowie records in intershop. Beer they have, and "Limo" and "Adlershofer" (Vodka).

And suddenly--while the "Puhdys" ("ours") are rocking--Telemann too, and Bach. The next day, in some church: vespers with organ. "That man is first rate." Those who live in the capital want to go there. Despite the sermon. "We all are of course atheists." Despite all the vespers liturgy. "That is some language you don't hear anywhere else." No one pays any attention to the Sorb's way of being for it; he is, after all, a Catholic, with faith programmed into him. Just imagine what there would be left ("among us") without even the churches.

And then someone comes in whose visit infringes on the birthday child's parents' proscription. They had met him in Hungary. He is putting Scotch on the table and brings in two bags full of cans of beer from the shop. They just let it happen without making any fuss about the gifts--as if they were more or less expected. They just let him be there and join the party, are in no way reserved nor eager in concentrating their attention on the guest from "over there."

The Sorb asks the Germanics student: "Does he come from 'over there' or from the FRG?" "Actually looks as if he is from the FRG," the girl from the capital replies. Well dressed, West Germans look somewhat neater than West Berliners, more like people on visits, like tourists in general. And they usually are more courteous and more reserved and, at times, inhibited, because they are more like strangers, and the dialect they speak is also unusual. And whether they get a cosy yet uncanny feeling out of it or some ideological euphoria that they actually are "in the East," you can sense they feel they are on an exotic expedition.

Young West Berliners, on the other hand, come across as if they had, if not a suitcase, a plastic bag at least in this part of Berlin. Sloppily dressed,

the West Germans appear to the East Berliners rather hippie-like, emphatically revolutionist, like temporarily defected from their bourgeois world of comfort. It turns out the young man from "over there" is a West German with a West Berlin identification card, a law student. "Don't they call that draft dodging 'in your parts?'"

That brings up the GDR's new school subject defense education. The church too had to go along with it. They are amazed that the church by such announcements would risk its most recent concordat with the state (after the 6 March 1978 summit talks). "But there was a superb opportunity for 'ours here' to show how much leeway they grant! That way you can of course demonstrate your Helsinki sentiment and keep imprisoning dissidents undisturbedly." This harsh rejoinder by the one who works the lights, the one with the "request," is placidly accepted, hardly commented on.

#### Identification Is Possible

The fellow from "over there" confesses church and religion mean nothing to him. For he is a Marxist. They smile without comment. In the social environment the church is needed. Even draft dodgers find support from it. And civilian service is more pleasant in church than in state institutions. "In the social sector," says the host, "the church cannot do much here. This is all stuffed with social regulations. But you can hear and say things in church that is nowhere else possible." This judgment by the East Berlin atheist gets an emphatic endorsement by the Sorbian Catholic.

The party in the capital goes on as parties of young people between 20 and 25 normally do. Their fancy will not stray too far from reality. With the scotch and several Adlershofer vodka bottles being drained, theology and the church cease being a subject of conversation. Only the one who has to make it across has a deadline. By midnight he must have passed the Friedrichstrasse checkpoint.

In sum: With one exception, none of these young people gathering here considered the Christian faith of any importance to them. Of the Western student it may be assumed that he was baptized, confirmed and nominally is at least a member of the church. Of all the other guests, except of the Sorb, it may be assumed that even if some of them still were baptized, none received religious instruction and the state's youth consecration nor are nominally church members but in principle all affirm Marxism, at least the socialist social order and have a basically atheistic position on the world and on life wherein they rely on the understanding of historical materialism. Their friction with political and social matters comes in where they find discrepancies in the state-administered ideology and in the state itself.

They themselves have never experienced the meaning of losing one's religious hold in the church as such. They did not become marginal church goers--alienated from the tradition or child-like emotions, more and more reducing



the substance of the articles of faith, until they would finally place everything in doubt and toy with the idea of making an open break with organized religion, only then to find out suddenly that social activities in the church will to a limited extent grant them some identification. The children are well taken care of during the day in their miniclubs and daycare centers, the adolescents, in the church basement in the evenings. The churches are putting themselves out for minorities, disabled, social outsiders. The community clubs attract civic initiatives going in various directions.

What if this was not already all there? While you are actually outside, you are suddenly in the midst of what is going on in the church again. More pastors resemble entertainers, disk jockeys and social managers than parochial bee-keeping clerics. Deference and timidity are subsiding. The minister and the clergy no longer go beyond the frame once established for them. There still is a Christian relevance, but it is no longer a nuisance. Even the missionary element appears reasonable, target-oriented, relevant to the world. You start suspecting that your objections might have been prejudices only. And then you find there is no trouble settling somewhere within the church environment. Why quit? Wouldn't that restrain or obstruct something socially necessary? Why not join in when it is the church itself is doing something in repairing the estrangement from the church widely felt today?

No, young GDR citizens do not turn into such marginal church goers. What they experience is a loss of social hold. What they are coming up against are the holes and gaps between the state's ideology and practice. Deep within themselves they discover thoughts, feelings, expectations which the social system neither responds or replies to nor even takes into account. A sense of alienation arises which increases, as does the degree of loneliness and of group consensus. In contrast to the young people in the West, they have no fundamental objections against the society to which they belong.

"The line," the official political argumentation and argumentation, is, to be sure, no longer taken seriously because it does not stand up to reality. Which in no way means, however, that they have changed their loyalties regarding world politics and social policy. (The one who submitted his request being as much an exception as the pious Catholic.) They come to feel this sense of alienation more and more as an internal and external vacuum, a vacant zone in what they think and in how they live, which can no longer be replenished.

So they settle on the periphery of society--alienated but not separated; in disagreement with the party and "the line" but not torn apart from the system at large. Not that Marxism would not mean anything anymore, rather, they understand it better, more realistically, more in terms of present-day experience, than the state and party-appointed teachers do.

Now we have this church here where you can hear a few things that you could not ever hear the state, say. The vacuum is not necessarily being addressed

by that. It rather is that other things are being offered. Some sort of substitution they offer, piling up beyond the vacuum, the vacant zones. There you can say what you must not say elsewhere. That satisfies some needs. And although an atheist, you may here ask for the meaning of it all. Even if the answers received are religious ones, you may still ask the questions. The atheist has been admitted to the discussion.

This church furthermore has lately been accepted, officially, as a legitimate component of socialist society. The clergy themselves normally share the sociopolitical standpoint prevailing. They are "over here" and not "over there." Why should one then not listen, ask and talk? You do not have to become a believer, a church goer. No one insists you have to go through the standard ecclesiastic rigmarole: baptism, confirmation, church taxation, possibly even (East)-CDU. The whole thing, after all, turns around that experience of social alienation which may nowhere else be discussed in all sincerity, around the important and difficult question: How do I live-- "here?"

#### Initial Contacts

While "over there" (in the West) the church has caught up with the social problems, "here" ("among us" in the East) it is the social problems that return the church to the perspective of the individual. The state wants no catacombs, and that is why it accommodates itself with the church. The citizen wants to discuss matters which the state will not or cannot yet openly discuss. Only take what is in the background of defense education as a school subject: How can you find peace service compatible with defense training, global detente with civilian rearmament? Where else can you publicly ponder the issue without the fear of deviating from "the line?" Where else can one express doubts, contradiction, discomfort--"among us?"

A discussion about defense education will do just as little in converting young people between 20 and 25 into Christians as will the open youth basement in the community club convert the ones between 15 and 20 years of age. In both cases, the attraction exercised is explained by the lack of other alternative offers. In both cases contacts are established that were originally not sought. And only in individual cases--here as there--such contacts lead to a community in belief and doubt. If the church wants to instill conviction in our days, it must implant itself in the anguish of the individual.

For the Western visitor, as we said, the party in the capital ended before midnight. They made another date. Next Saturday, Alexanderplatz, at the world clock. "Make it back smoothly, you capitalist mercenary!" "Bye, you GDRseholes." The others stay for hours before they go home. The ones living in the capital also make another date. For the next day, at organ vespers.

5885

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARIES: RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN GDR

Description of Religious Groups

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 22 Sep 78 p 2

[Article by Reinhard Henkys (epd): "GDR Churches Are Frequently Filled To Capacity"]

[Text] Whatever the burning pastor Rolf Guenther wanted to say with his deed to his congregation in Falkenstein in the Vogtland, or possibly even to all the Christians in the GDR, speculation will probably continue for a long time. At any rate, to date no reliable explanations are available. One state of affairs, however, was glaringly illuminated by this new, in its meaning still mysterious, self-immolation: There is a movement of spiritual renewal within the churches of the GDR which--almost unnoticed by the public--has spread considerably during the past 10 years. It includes many traditional Christians but also people who had had no contact with the church in the past.

When Pastor Guenther burned himself to death, almost 400 worshippers were witnesses to the event. This large number is amazing, because it is typical to think of churches in the GDR as being empty. The report of a preacher is spread around: "On Sunday, three persons attended the church service: the Lord Jesus, an old woman and I." In Falkenstein, however, it is normal for 400 people to attend a Sunday worship service, and this normality exists not only in the Vogtland, characterized by pietism, but also in many other congregations in the GDR.

To be sure, traditional middle-class or rural Christianity is still having its effect in a number of areas in the GDR, and it is contributing to a church life which is numerically substantial; however, it is void of special religious experiences by the individuals. Occasionally, there is also still the demonstrative church attendance to indicate to the communist environment an attitude of protest. It is significant, however, that in many areas not only individuals but large groups of people, or even entire

congregations, have been seized by a movement of spiritual renewal. Particularly in the south of the GDR, but to some extent also in other parts of the country, prayer circles, evangelism associations, public mission stations--or whatever they call themselves--have been formed which, in contrast to the West, do not exist separately from the official church but have their basis in the local congregation and in a number of special spiritual centers. These groups often flock around pastors and other church staff, and again and again the pietistic Christian movement seizes entire congregations and shapes their lives. Churchmen in the GDR are talking about a charismatic movement. This intimates that the movement is not only one consisting of conservative pietistic Christians who emphasize the conversion of the individual and his direct relationship to Jesus. Rather, new elements have been added which seem to be foreign to pietism and to the Western evangelical movement. They are referred to as practicing the gifts of grace (charismata): healing of the sick through prayer and laying on of hands, prophecy, speaking in tongues (glossolalia), deliverance from occult ties and exorcism. However, at the center of this movement, which is bent on spiritual renewal of the church and not on a separate religious life outside the church, is concentration on a life with Jesus which leads to direct religious experiences, to intensive Bible study and common prayer.

It is difficult to obtain figures. To date, these groups and congregations have not cared about publicizing their activities since--at least in the foreground--they are nonpolitical. If the renewal of society is discussed at all by them, they view it as the renewal of the individual in his relationship to Jesus, practicing this renewal by leading a spiritual life with regular attendance at worship services, prayer and Bible meetings, confession (including auricular confession) and ministering to fellow Christians.

The strongest group within this movement, which is little organized beyond the local level, is the "Saxon Public Mission Circle," which also calls itself "Saxon Service to Christ." Its centers are in Braeunsdorf and Grosshartmannsdorf. The participants gather in their local congregations but also in big retreats, prayer weekends and rallies. In recent years it has not been unusual to have several thousand people participate in prayer and Bible weekends in these centers. Out of 1,100 ministers in Saxony, more than 100 belong to the Public Mission Circle.

Additional centers are the Julius-Schniewind-House in Schoenebeck-Salzelmen near Magdeburg, the Slate Retreat near Parchim and the "House of Tranquility" in Weitenhagen near Greifswald. Equivalent to the Saxon Service to Christ is a Thuringian Service to Christ; in Greifswald there is a brother circle of the Public Mission; in other areas the organizations have different names.

The movement has by no means restricted itself to adults. According to participants, particularly during the first half of the 1970's, a kind of spiritual explosion occurred during charismatic young people's meetings. Young people were seized by a heretofore unknown zeal for prayer and for reading and understanding the Bible. They were anxious to tell those around them

what Jesus meant to them and what their experiences had been with him. Like a wave, a charismatic youth movement spread from Grosshartmannsdorf and the Schniedewind-House, but also from the Buckow Youth Retreat in Mark Brandenburg. In the meantime it has subsided somewhat, but it continues to exist in innumerable prayer circles and leads to youth worship services which, for instance in Karl-Marx-Stadt, are attended by up to 2,000 participants.

Pastor Rolf Guenther did not belong to this movement. However, the fact that his worship services were also attended to capacity is a sign that this movement is a religious and not a sectarian one. Nevertheless, it appeared to have caused problems for him, either because he felt excluded or he wanted to be excluded. The connection between his death and the spiritual renewal in the congregation of Falkenstein cannot be established with certainty from the information which has become available to date.

#### Alternative to State Doctrine

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 27 Sep 78 p 4

[Article by Peter Pragal, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG editorial staff, datelined Berlin/GDR, 26 Sep: "An Upsurge of Religious Austerity in the GDR--The Federation of Protestant Churches Speaks of a 'Charismatic Movement' With Pietistic Characteristics"]

[Text] To date, when problems of Christians in the GDR were discussed, the West was thinking above all of conflicts with the socialist state. Since the self-immolation of Falkenstein pastor Rolf Guenther, an enlightened theologian who collapsed psychologically because of his pietistic-sanctimonious environment, tensions within the Protestant Church have also become more visible to the public. Discussions in East Berlin by the synod of the Federation of Churches, which lasted 5 days and which were concluded on Tuesday, have brought out some of the causes for the religious dispute which is going on in many areas.

It has been known for a long time that in contrast to Catholics, the Protestants in the GDR, who have been organized into eight Protestant Land churches, do not constitute a spiritual and even less a political union. Nevertheless, many Christians are surprised and shocked by the extent of the internal discord, which is reflected in the events of Falkenstein. Thus, a member of the synod spoke of the greatest "humiliation" to date of the church, the congregations of which, in many areas, are no longer able to maintain unity or conduct religious controversies with Christian tolerance.

The cause apparently is the spreading of a spiritual renewal movement, which to date has received little attention, with predominantly orthodox-pietistic characteristics but also some sectarian traits. An internal investigation by the Federation of Protestant Churches names a "charismatic movement" which uses religious practices reminiscent of traditions used by public missions. In addition to traditional Christians, it has been joined by many

people who in the past had no contact with the church. They have in common the striving for a life which aims at direct experiences of faith and which is oriented toward strict theological and moral categories.

This religious austerity, which has proliferated particularly in Saxony and Thuringia, is attracting a surprising number of young people. In their search for a world view which offers them a clear and definite alternative to the prevailing state doctrine, they apparently feel more comfortable in the company of dogmatists in public mission circles than among supporters of a theology which advocates modern pluralism and which lacks a direct emphasis on faith. In this regard, the report of the Federation of Churches speaks of a "spiritual explosion" and of an unprecedented zeal among young people to understand the Bible and testify about their faith.

The frictions which this causes in Christian congregations have caused a great deal of concern in the church leadership. In the past, all efforts were primarily directed at preserving and possibly enlarging free space for Christians in the atheistic GDR society. Now they are facing the additional task of reducing confrontations among believers of different religious trends and of promoting an understanding for more tolerance toward those fellow Christians who have different opinions. The matter is urgent, because the church study contains the warning that the "danger of a polarization" cannot be ignored any longer.

A by-product of the religious renewal movement is the increasing tendency toward radical pacifism among young Christians. In the meantime, to protest military instruction in the public schools ordered by the state, members of the Youth Congregations organized worship services in several cities of the GDR, during which war toys and militaristic literature were symbolically banned. "Weapons develop aggressiveness," is a statement contained in an informational pamphlet which was distributed during such a worship service. And somewhere else the following statement could be read: "Education for peace means instilling in people a deep aversion to every form of violence."

Although the SED views such demonstrations as being distinctly political in character, these meetings, under the protection of the church, were tolerated by state authorities; not so much because of inner convictions but rather because of aftereffects resulting from the talks between SED chief Erich Honecker and the leadership of the Federation of Churches in the spring of 1978, when both sides agreed to replace confrontation with increasing cooperation. Even though there are still some party and state functionaries who hesitate to treat GDR Christians as partners, to date no cause has been given to doubt the willingness of the SED leadership to fulfill the agreements which were made.

For instance, religious television programs which had been requested were made possible without special restrictions. The restoration and new construction of churches in suburban cities is proceeding within the framework

of the talks, and discussions about regulations concerning ministry to prisoners are also "about to be concluded." But, above all, the social pressure on Christians has decreased noticeably in many areas. The report of the church leadership indicates that the faithful should proceed from the assumption "that their religious conviction and reliance on their conscience are being respected."

Nevertheless, a good deal of skepticism remains. Well aware of the fact that the principal contradiction between the Christian faith and the communist world view will remain, the church leaders expect many difficulties in dealing with state authorities in the future as well. The conflict over military instruction is putting the newly found relationship to a crucial test. The manner in which those students who refuse increased military instruction will be dealt with, will be an indicator.

8991

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

TRANSIT AGREEMENT VIOLATION--On 8 October 1978 FRG citizen Manfred Jahn was caught redhanded for organized crimes activities and detained at the order of Khalife Hussein while living in West Berlin. A criminal gang middleman, Jahn committed crimes while abusing the transit agreement with a specially adjusted Volkswagen automobile. Agent Jahn did not possess a drivers license and was intoxicated. Investigative proceedings were initiated and an arrest warrant was issued. The automobile with the official license plate number B-AJ 4417 was confiscated. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

ILLEGAL BORDER CROSSING--Berlin (ADN)--On 11 October 1978 FRG citizen Dieter Buschke violated the GDR state border in the area of the Berlin-Mitte City District and was arrested. The detailed circumstances of the border violation are currently being investigated by the competent GDR organs. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

RETURN OF DELEGATION FROM MPR--A study delegation of the SED Central Committee under the leadership of Eberhard Heinrich, Central Committee candidate member, concluded an exchange of views that lasted several days on problems of ideological work on Friday [13 October] in Ulaanbaatar. During its visit to the MPR the delegation was received by Bat-Ochiryn Altangeral, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee, by Sandagiyn Sosorbaran, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and by other leading staff workers of the MPRP Central Committee. The increasingly closer cooperation in the ideological field was appreciated in the talks as an expression of the fraternal relations between the two parties. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

AUSTRIAN-GDR SOCIETY--The founding of several new branches in the country and an increased recruitment of members are projects of a comprehensive program of the Austrian-GDR society in preparation for the 30th anniversary of the GDR's founding. As central secretary Karl Lerch disclosed at the society's general assembly in Vienna on the weekend, more than 300 Austrians have joined the society in the past few months. Its leading bodies now include leading representatives of the Socialist Party, the Peoples Party and of the Austrian Communist Party. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Oct 78 p 2 AU]



SOLIDARITY AID FOR VIETNAM--"In an ADN interview Berthold Handwerker, secretary of the Vietnam Committee of the GDR Solidarity Committee, reported on the activities of GDR citizens to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the consequences of the heavy flood catastrophe. The GDR Council of Ministers has initiated emergency measures to assist the people in the areas stricken by the catastrophe and has made available vast amounts of foodstuffs, textiles, blankets, tents, medicines and consumer goods. Parts of these have already been shipped." The FDGB Federal Executive Committee has issued a decision that solidarity aid to Vietnam will be continued in the amount of M10 million. "These funds have already enabled four Interflug charter planes to embark on a solidarity course and two more shipments are just being prepared." All these actions are being financed by gifts of GDR citizens. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION DEPARTS--A delegation of the Addis Ababa city council led by Mayor Dr Alemu Abebe ended its visit to Berlin on Friday. The guests had acquainted themselves with the solving of local government tasks in the GDR capital. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0934 GMT 20 Oct 78 LD]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

# HUNGARIAN NATIONAL TU COUNCIL ELECTS NEW OFFICIALS

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Oct 78 pp 1-4 AU

[Report on the 6 October meeting of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions"]

[Excerpt] On the basis of a proposal submitted by Laszlo Gal, deputy secretary general of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT], the council meeting discussed personnel matters at this point.

It has elected old-age pensioner Karoly Palotai, former deputy head of the SZOT Area Committee Directorate, to membership on the SZOT and the presidium and SZOT deputy vice president. It has elected Dr Judit Csehak, secretary of the medical and health workers trade union, to membership on the SZOT and the presidium and secretariat and SZOT secretary. It has elected Ferenc Solyom, former secretary of the construction, woodworking and building materials workers' trade union, to membership on the SZOT and the presidium and secretariat and SZOT secretary. It has relieved SZOT member Dr Laszlo Tamas from membership in the SZOT presidium. It has elected Mrs Karoly Balogh, secretary general of the Food Industry Workers' Union, to SZOT and presidium membership. It has elected Janos Tausz, member of the MSZMP Central Control Committee and president of the commerce, Financial and Catering Workers' Trade Union, member of the SZOT. At her own request, it has relieved Mrs Istvan Tompa of her SZOT membership and elected Mrs Kalman Lorant, head of the Apprentice Training Shop of the Kiskunhalas Knitted Goods Factory, member of the SZOT. Subsequently, issues of work committees' personnel were decided.

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### HUNGARIAN NATIONAL TU COUNCIL MEETING SPEECHES, STATEMENT

[Editorial Report AU] Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian on 7 October on pages 1-4 carries a 3,000-word report on a speech by National Trade Union Council secretary general and MSZMP Politburo member Sandor Gaspar at the 6 October meeting of the National Trade Union Council on the implementation of the resolution of the 23d Hungarian Trade Union Congress and future tasks.

Gaspar reviewed positive features of the development and activity of the trade unions. Emphasizing the trade union movement's "fundamental task" of strengthening the workers' power and serving the party's economic policy, Gaspar faulted trade union work on two counts. He explained at length that the economic tasks set by the 23d Trade Union Congress were not sufficiently clarified and elucidated on all levels, so that, consequently, "the National Trade Union Council was unable to influence the central leading bodies and the latter were unable to influence the factory organizations toward aiding more effectively the realization of our economic endeavors and aims."

Gaspar named the "correlation of interests" as the second problem of trade union work, noting that "the National Trade Union Council is protecting social interests on a national level, the vocational organizations are protecting vocational interests and the factory organizations are protecting group and individual interests." He argues that "the movement as a whole should protect social, group and individual interests," there must be complete harmony "on the basis of a priority of social interests."

Dealing with economic tasks, Gaspar focused on trade union activities at the factory level to insure that production benefits not only the enterprises, but the state as well, which incurs serious losses at times because of various subsidies to enterprises. He noted the need to develop factory democracy, which is a means toward the future accomplishment of communist self-administration.

Gaspar devoted a large portion of his speech to trade union work in protecting the workers' interests, which, he noted, "has not sufficiently developed." He explained at length that everything cannot be resolved immediately and singled out price increases, noting that "one must become accustomed to the idea that producer and consumer prices undergo changes even under socialist conditions." He called upon the trade unions to act "with all means at their

disposal" against people being wronged or unjustly treated, continuing: "such things are possible under capitalist conditions, but cannot be tolerated in a socialist society. This fundamental scale of values seems to have been a bit forgotten in some areas of our public offices and in trade union circles, too, here and there. We forget that we are serving and we are not being served! Superciliousness does exist, bullying and arbitrariness can be experienced. These must not be allowed to happen and an increase of the number of such cases must not be tolerated."

In conclusion, Gaspar "spoke of a few topical issues of the international trade union movement and reviewed relations of the Hungarian trade unions and their role in the struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement."

The same issue of NEPSZAVA also carries on page four a 1,000-word report on a speech by MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Karoly Nemeth at the National Trade Union Council session. Nemeth lauded trade union work and then dealt overwhelmingly with economic issues. He noted: "the party has great confidence in the trade union movement and relies on the trade unions. Therefore, it requests their leaders and members, communists and nonparty people alike, to continue developing their work and use all means to implement our economic plans, increase efficiency and improve quality."

NEPSZAVA of 8 October, on pages three and four, carries a 4,000-word "statement by the National Trade Union Council on the implementation of the resolution of the 23d [trade union--] congress," which reviews the rising standard of trade union work, but notes that there still are tasks to be accomplished with regard to its quality and consistence. "Some officials and activists do happen to work superficially and without initiate and the methods of work are not always appropriate."

The statement calls attention to a correct interpretation of the dual function of the trade unions, which is "to help strengthen the workers' power politically and economically and to represent by this the fundamental interests of the workers class as a class. They protect the interests of all working people on this basis, that is, on a class basis." The statement finds the standard of work in protecting the workers' interests inadequate, particularly with regard to "the protection of the interests of individuals," and attributes this to "partly a shortfall in development and partly to omissions."

Dealing with tasks and shortcomings, the statement notes that "in many places, the standard of organization is low and people are frequently made to work overtime without justification. An excess and a lack of manpower exist simultaneously at places of work." It stresses the significance of the socialist work competition and brigade movement and calls for "more vigorous action against views underestimating the work competition and faulty methods. Even today, in many cases, a better use of possibilities is still hampered by the bureaucracy experienced in some place and still existing anomalies regarding labor organization and considerations of interest."

The statement calls on central and factory trade union organs to "pay particular attention to economic relations with the CEMA countries, particularly to enterprises filling their orders in accordance with the terms of interstate agreements with the CEMA countries with regard to quantity, quality and schedules and their quest for the possibility that we may purchase as much of the modern machinery and components we require as possible from these countries."

Noting that "the present and expected position of the people's economy will not make a 'spectacular' large-scale increase of the standard of living possible," the statement expands on the need to apply more consistently the socialist principles in distribution, "interlink" more closely wages, incomes and performance and intensify the effect of material incentives as well as on tasks in improving the position of large families, old-age pensioners and people with low incomes, child and health care and housing conditions.

Expounding on harmful phenomena, the statement observes that "experience shows that bureaucracy and negligence have not diminished in administrative work. It still happens today that enterprises fail to comply with certain points of ordinances, collective contracts and social plans. There are many complaints about the councils' administration of affairs, services, the National Savings Bank and the State Insurance Agency. Complaints are proliferating about health care and the low standard of some workers' hostels.

"There are phenomena alien to our society that cause harm in our daily life. Although they arise from individual omissions and irresponsible acts toward others, their impact manifests itself on a social scale and causes a ripple effect. Their danger lies in the fact that even the class character of society may become blurred in the eyes of the working man if he is subjected to a personal affront. The population expects the administration of the routine affairs of life to be conducted in compliance with our principles in our country.

"The question of 'how we should live' has come to the fore. However, according to our experience, the answers provided to the questions of 'from what should we live' and 'how should we live' have split up. Attention is being diverted from daily questions of the strengthening of socialist human values, although the situation has become ripe for their expansion on a mass scale. Tips and 'gratuities' have been proliferating in recent years and their sum has been increasing. This is causing moral damages. We cannot resign ourselves to this and even less can we accept 'economic' explanations for this harmful phenomenon. There are vocations and jobs where wage calculations make allowances for incomes of this nature."

In the cultural and educational area, the statement notes "insufficient harmony" between the "objectives of cultural development and the material resources available for attaining them," which "has an unfavorable effect, in turn, on social development," as well as the fact that "the ratio of young people of worker-peasant descent at higher educational institutes and

the participation of workers in adult training is improving slower than is possible and necessary."

The concluding part of the statement expands on the need to improve and "qualitatively transform" the activities and methods of the Hungarian trade union movement to enable it even more intensively to contribute to the fulfillment of annual plans and the five-year plan and the accomplishment of socialist objectives.

CSO: 2500

POLAND

PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS OF ACADEMIC YOUTH SURVEYED

Warsaw NOWA SZKOLA in Polish No 3, Mar 78 pp 23-25

[Article by Adam Zych, Kielce Higher Pedagogical School]

[Text] An increasing interest by the youth of today in problems relating to Weltanschauung can be observed in Poland. This interest is understandable inasmuch as questions of the structure, formation and changes in the world views of the young generation are of essential importance not only for Marxist psychology, religion, philosophy, and study of religion, but also for the theory of education and the improvement of methods of the pedagogical influence of the modern higher school.

Of particular importance for pedagogical and psychological practice is the study of the structure and functions of the outlook on life and the forms of social behavior and of the value system of the present-day academic youth. The results of the planned investigation on Weltanschauung of students of the Kielce Higher Pedagogical School, a fragment of which is presented in this article, will find not only theoretical application in attempts at elucidation of the genesis, essence and process of the formation of a scientific world view, but they will also be of help in working out practical educational directions and guidelines.

Concept and Structure of Weltanschauung

On endeavoring to give a detailed definition of the subject matter of our investigations we should define more accurately the concept of Weltanschauung, or more precisely the concept of world-view attitude, and characterize in broad outline its structure.<sup>1</sup> Taking into account conventional definitions of Weltanschauung, we propose to define it as follows:

World view, which is an essential and integral part of the human personality, is a system of permanent, inwardly coherent views and convictions of man, relating to the physical, social and cultural world as a whole and to the individual as such and his place in this world, that are emotionally

accepted by man and determine his attitude toward the world and himself, and which also embodies a set of principal values and moral assumptions, rules, norms and guidelines of behavior of the individual in the world, and determines the direction of man's activity.<sup>2</sup>

By way of example, T. Jaroszewski<sup>3</sup> considers that world view is "an overall integral set of views [of man] on the nature of the physical and social reality that surrounds him, on his place in it and the role to be fulfilled, and finally, on that which is most valuable in life and for which it is worth while to live and act." In the opinion of J. Szmyd,<sup>4</sup> world view means "an overall set of views on the nature of a surrounding reality by means of which man explains to himself the meaning of the world and his own existence, and determines and demonstrates in action his own attitude toward them." W. Szewczuk<sup>5</sup> defines world view as "an essentially coherent system of views constituting a highly generalized conception of world and man and connected with it a system of values which determines how man will function in the world."

In other words, world view is "a certain set of inwardly mutually integrated attitudes,"<sup>6</sup> that is a system of convictions that defines the cognitive and emotional attitude of man to the world and determines his behavior."<sup>7</sup>

The above definitions suggest that in the structure of world view we can distinguish at least three basic components:

--emotional, or more precisely an affective-valuing stratum, that is to say an emotional attitude toward the world, connected with axiological judgment of reality and oneself. This stratum embodies a consciously and emotionally accepted system of the primary (that is most fundamental) values and aims of man's life, together with his convictions concerning means of realizing this value system;

--cognitive (noetic stratym), that is knowledge, views and beliefs relating to the physical, social and cultural world as a whole, emotionally accepted by man, with consciousness of his place in that world conceived as an integral whole;

--behavioral, or more precisely a directional-behavioral stratum, that is to say the activity (behavior) of man based on the knowledge of world and the emotional attitude toward it. This stratum comprises basic directions, recommendations, instructions, and norms concerning the outlook of life of man, and his behavior, as well as consciousness and acceptance of means which the individual considers as accessible and permissible in the realization of basic life aims.

#### Problems and Nature of Investigations

The planned empirical investigations realized within the framework of the Kielce Higher Pedagogical School (HPS) have the following goals:



1. The immediate diagnostic aim of investigation is to gather the most comprehensive possible information pertinent to world view of the students of the Kielce HPS;
2. The theoretical aim is recognition, description and elucidation of the structure of world view;
3. The next aim of our investigations is a comprehensive elucidation--from the standpoint of social and Marxist psychology of religion and personality, and with reference to certain socialist, philosophical and pedagogical theories--of mechanisms of the formation and changes of world views of the present-day academic youth;
4. We desire, moreover, to work out the necessary cognitive data for the further theoretical and methodological strengthening of the contemporary Marxist psychology of religion.

World view (world-view-attitudes) of students of the HPS in Kielce is the basic dependent variable in the investigations being planned. Naturally, this variable is of an aggregate nature and, therefore, cannot be measured directly. The measurement of this variable is possible only after its reduction to individual variables. We propose, therefore, to distinguish the following dependent individual (residual) variables in the world-view structure, which could be measured:<sup>8</sup>

- a) The emotional element may be reduced among other things to verbalized states of emotions (declared emotions) and to observable emotional reactions.
- b) The cognitive world-view element can be reduced to at least four individual variables, such as: cognitive answers, verbalized states of conviction (declared convictions), world-view convictions and knowledge.
- c) The behavioral element, that is to say action (behavior), may be reduced, among other things, to the following residual variables: verbalized states of behavior (declared actions), and actual, observable behavior.

#### Organization of Investigations

The above characterized plan of investigations on world view of academic youth is a long-term project (planned for 1977-1979), for it comprises a considerable number of theoretically and methodologically difficult research problems which are not easy to realize practically. The first stage of investigations was to design two testing tools for measuring the cognitive component of world-view outlook, namely the "test of world-view knowledge,"<sup>9</sup> to measure world-view knowledge, and of the "scale of world-view convictions,"<sup>10</sup> to measure declared world-view convictions. The first of the testing tools in question was designed

in January-April 1977. The experimental version of the test comprises 50 test questions with multiple choice encompassing world-view knowledge from the following problem fields: biogenesis (origin of life); man (genesis, philosophy, psychology); universe (structure, origin); evolutionism; modern materialistic philosophy; world-view aspects of modern physics and chemistry; cell (biology of life). Here is an example of a problem from the experimental version of the test:

Marx and Engels formulated the thesis that man as a social being is a product of:

- a) conflict of opposites, struggle of matter and spirit,
- b) social environment and education system,
- c) supernatural forces existing beyond nature,
- d) a long-lasting process of evolution.

The scale of world-view convictions was worked out in July 1977. The questions and statements contained in it referred to similar problems as those in the test, only the scale also contains ideological and social problems. The person tested had to assume the attitude toward statements given in the questionnaire with use of the following scale: A - I positively agree, B - I agree, C - I have no opinion, D - I disagree, E - I positively disagree.

The experimental version of the scale contained 55 statements. Here is an example of two statements from the experimental version of the scale:

One should act in life in such a way as to maximize human happiness and to bring the highest possible profit to society A,B,C,D,E. Religion is inconsistent with scientific knowledge A,B,C,D,E.

The next stage of investigation was to empirically define diagnostic values for the above-mentioned testing tools. For this purpose, in May 1977, a specially selected sample batch of 111 students of the first and fourth years of the Higher Pedagogical School in Kielce was tested with use of the world-view knowledge test, from the following fields of study: first year biology, N + 25 students, first year Polish studies, N + 33, first year history, N + 28, and fourth year school pedagogics, N + 25. In August 1977, there was likewise tested a sample batch of 31 second year students of pedagogics, N + 15. In this test the scale of world-view convictions was used. The primary purpose of these tests was statistical analysis of diagnostic value of the world-view knowledge test and world-view convictions scale. Taking advantage of the possibility of gathering abundant empirical material during these pilot tests we made it our secondary aim to also verify the following two working hypotheses:

1. The level of world-view knowledge depend upon field and year of studies,

2. The level of world-view convictions depends upon year of studies.

### Statistical Analysis and Discussion of Results

In the statistical processing of data we made use of Flanagan's method<sup>11</sup> to determine indices of facility and power that differentiate test questions and scale statements and to determine reliability and standard errors in measurements of the world-view knowledge test and world-view convictions scale.

For the guidance of readers we will give only the reliability factors ( $r_{tt}$ ) and the values of standard errors of measurements ( $S_e$ ):

1. World-view knowledge test - trial version  $r_{tt} = +0.845$ ;  $S_e = \pm 4$  pt; experimental version  $r_{tt} = +0.805$ ,  $S_e = \pm 3$  pt,
2. World-view convictions scale - trial version  $r_{tt} = +0.924$ ,  $S_e = \pm 3$  pt; experimental version  $r_{tt} = +0.939$ ,  $S_e = \pm 3$  pt.

In order that we may consider the results of the method applied to be dependable, in the opinion of J. P. Guilford,<sup>12</sup> the reliability factors should attain the values within the limits from 0.80 to 0.98. Taking into account the values given above we should consider the reliability factors as high or very high, and that the testing tools display a high diagnostic value and that we can fully rely on the results achieved in applying them for the study of world-view knowledge and convictions.

The test of independence, chi square, was used for verification of the working hypotheses given above. Here are the results:

1. Year and field of studies and the level of world view  $\chi^2 = 22.176$ , very significant statistics, significance level 0.001.
2. Year of studies and the level of world-view knowledge,  $\chi^2 = 9.707$ , very significant statistics, significance level 0.005.
3. Year of studies and the level of world-view convictions,  $\chi^2 = 4.000$ , significant statistics, significance level 0.05.

The aforesaid statistical data unequivocally confirmed the accuracy of the adopted hypotheses. There is no doubt that the level of world-view knowledge and convictions depends on the year and field of studies,<sup>13</sup> and increases with the progress of studies. In other words, the Higher Pedagogical School in Kielce is properly fulfilling the assumed ideological and educational functions, with which it is entrusted, in addition to didactic functions, for it develops a scientific world view in its students.

Out of necessity we have reported but briefly the results of investigations on Weltanschauung of academic youth. The formulation of further, reliable and more detailed, conclusions will be, however, possible only after the carrying out of a full-scale and exhaustive diagnosis of world-view attitudes of students of the HPS in Kielce.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For broader treatment of this matter see: A. Zych, "Concept Structure and Functions of Weltanschauung," ARGUMENTY, No 29, 1977, p 3.
2. Z. Cackowski, "Weltanschauung - Its Structure and Premises of Typology," KWARTALNIK PEDAGOGICZNY, No 2, 1976, pp 3-4. Similar definitions of Weltanschauung are found in Zdzislaw Cackowski, Jan Szmyd, Wincenty Okon, Wlodzimierz Szewczuk, Tadeusz Jaroszewski, Romuald Konczyk, Milolaj Kozakiewicz and Zenon Kawecki.
3. T. M. Jaroszewski, "Controversy About Weltanschauung," ARGUMENTY, No 32, 1977, pp 1, 4-5; and T. Jaroszewski, "Weltanschauung and Its Social Functions," OSWIATA I WYCHOWANIE, No 17 (insert NURT), 1976, p 11 ff.
4. J. Szmyd, "Questions Connected With Formation of the Scientific World View of Youth," OSWIATA I WYCHOWANIE, No 14, 1977, p 17.
5. W. Szewczuk, "World View and Integration of Knowledge," BADANIA OSWIATOWE, No 3, 1977, p 35.
6. S. Muszynski, "Education and World View," TRYBUNA LUDU, No 50, 1976, p 7.
7. W. Okon, "Elements of Didactics of the Higher School," PWN, Warsaw, 1971.
8. For more details see: A. Zych, "Methodological Problems of Investigations of World View of Modern Youth," RUCH PEDAGOGICZNY, No 5, 1977, p 555 ff.
9. World-View knowledge test "Man - Life - World" was elaborated by Adam Zych, from HPS in Kielce.
10. World-view convictions scale "Man - Life - World" was elaborated by Adam Zych, HPS in Kielce and by Henryk Olearnik, Jagiellonian University in Krakow.
11. Flanagan's method is described in: A. Zych: "Algorithmization of entiate test questions and scale statements and to determine reliability and standard errors in measurements of the world-view knowledge test and world-view convictions scale.

12. J. P. Guilford, "Basic Statistical Methods in Psychology and Pedagogics," 2nd ed. PWN, Warsaw, 1964, p 159.
13. This finding was also confirmed by the analysis of arithmetic means (M). The testing by a trial version of the world-view knowledge test: 1st year biology M = 54; 1st y Polish studies M = 49; 1st y history M = 50; 4th y school pedagogics M = 57. The testing with a trial version of the world-view convictions scale: pedagogics 2nd y M = 38; 3rd y M = 46.

1015

CSO: 2600

NAVAL AIRCRAFT RECON ROLE CONSIDERED

Gdynia PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 9, Sep 78 pp 14-18

[Article by Lt Zbigniew Smolarek, Polish Navy (pilot and War College graduate): "New Solutions for Sea Reconnaissance Aircraft"]

[Excerpt] The new decisions pertaining to the division of the seas created definite requirements regarding exploitation of resources and also the necessity to protect our waters against exploitation by other states. The states participating in the exploitation until this time, and now deprived of these opportunities, frequently do not accept the unilateral decisions of the maritime states and deliberately violate the established territorial water limits and the fishing zones, e.g., the notorious conflict between Iceland and Great Britain.

The decisions regarding the enlargement of territorial waters and fishing zones exerted significant influence on the development of maritime aviation. The characteristic feature of maritime aviation is the similarity and often identity of tasks performed by coastal defense aviation and naval reconnaissance aviation. The common tasks resulted in the development of many multipurpose aircraft which in the next 10 to 15 years will perform patrolling and reconnaissance tasks for naval forces. The family of reconnaissance aircraft which is the subject of our discussion does not preclude the existence and development of combat reconnaissance aircraft. Combat reconnaissance aircraft are designed to perform different tasks and must satisfy different standards and requirements. The distinction should be made and the combat aircraft should be treated as a separate family of the vigorously growing maritime reconnaissance aviation.

In order to distinguish better the aircraft families under discussion, a uniform nomenclature is proposed. The combat reconnaissance aircraft we shall call the reconnaissance aircraft and the multipurpose aircraft the patrol aircraft. It should be emphasized, however, that this simplification is adequate solely for nomenclature since the tasks performed by both aircraft families are often identical, e.g., patrolling, launching torpedoes, marking objects in the water and also guiding ship (air) strike forces.

The analysis of patrol aircraft design proves that it satisfies the basic requirements of a maritime aircraft and a reconnaissance aircraft. No state has decided yet to build or adapt a plane solely for the requirements of coastal defense or naval reconnaissance. This would be a luxury which even the highly developed countries cannot afford. Thus, despite the assignment of aircraft to a particular naval force, they are used for any set of tasks.

In the states where naval reconnaissance and patrol aircraft are built, the following tasks are considered for them:

1. Recognition and surveillance of ships (vessels) within 300 to 500 km range from the shoreline.
2. Protection and support of combat aviation activities including: reconnaissance, airborne command post, radar countermeasures, airlift of aviation command groups as a part of rapid airfield change, air rescue at high seas (outside the helicopter range).
3. Protection of territorial waters and fishing.
4. Photogrammetric services, towing artillery and rocket targets, etc.

The above listed tasks show that a patrol aircraft must be multipurpose, generously equipped with radioelectronic instruments and possess good handling characteristics. These requirements are complex but feasible.

On the basis of professional literature and experience it can be stated that a patrol aircraft should have the following characteristics:

1. All-weather landing system
2. Over-the-horizon radar
3. Short-and long-range navigation system.
4. Sea-rescue equipment adapted for use in low water and air temperatures.
5. Beds for mounting air photographic cameras.
6. Outside bomb racks (signal pods, radio buoys).
7. Autopilot adapted for low and very low flying (10 to 30 m).
8. Full complement of ultra shortwave radios (including the 220-300 MHz) and shortwave radios.
9. Automatic decoder.

10. Containerized sets of reconnaissance and electronic countermeasure equipment.

11. Warning station and reconnaissance equipment.

An aircraft equipped as listed above, should fit into the following tactical and technical standards:

- a) tactical range of about 600 to 700 km at the cruising speed of about 500 km per hour;
- b) maximum speed of no less than 600 km per hour;
- c) time in the air of no less than 5 hours;
- d) maximum takeoff weight 20 to 25 tons;
- e) takeoff and landing distance of about 600 to 800 meters, also on unimproved runway;
- f) ground turn around time 30 to 100 minutes, depending on the configuration of outside load;
- g) aircraft overhaul life of about 20,000 flying hours, engine installation life of about 2,000 flying hours;
- h) minimum of two main engines.

Most of the listed equipment has been in operation aboard several aircraft for a long time. The tactical and technical parameters are not too different from typical aircraft produced by the Western nations.

Among our own aircraft, the AN-28 and PZL-M-20 should be noted. No extensive information is available on the adaptation of the AN-28 aircraft but the PZL-M-20 (Piper-Seneca II) is flying in the United States with the appropriate maritime equipment.

It appears, however, that this aircraft will not perform the multipurpose function because of the low power of its piston engines and low payload. Nevertheless, both of these designs provide an excellent basis for building a patrol aircraft which can be of real use.

8801

CSO: 2600



POLAND

BRIEFS

ALGERIAN MINISTER'S VISIT--A delegation of the Algerian Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications headed by Minister Mohamed Zerguini has arrived in Poland. The delegation will acquaint itself with the achievements of the Polish tele-technical industry and will continue talks on cooperation which had been initiated with last year's visit of Edward Kowalczyk, the minister of communications, to Algeria. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 11 Oct 78 LD]

CSO: 2600

# INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 78 pp 13-17

[Article by Prof Dr Docent Ioan Ceterchi and Dr Nae Androne: "The Real Coordinates of International Cooperation for the Promotion of Human Rights"]

[Text] The recent speech of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu before the central party and state active is noted as a new programmatic document with deep reverberations in our country's political life and in international life. Bearing the imprint of the revolutionary, profoundly scientific and creative thought of the secretary general of the party and pervaded by unbounded devotion for the cause of our party and people and the noble ideals of socialism and peace, the speech constitutes a brilliant analysis of the main processes and phenomena with which mankind is confronted today, of the changes and trends in international life, a vast and mobilizing program for participation by socialist Romania in solving, for the benefit of all peoples, the great problems of the present.

Orientations and conclusions of a great theoretical and practical value regarding the problem of human rights that official circles and the propaganda in the West are using in a totally biased way, for ends hostile to good relations between nations, are drawn clearly from the speech.

The sterile discussions and unilateral approaches that are promoted with regard to this problem in the capitalist countries, the attempts to distort the real rights and freedoms that are provided in the socialist countries, and the spreading of theories that are meant to justify interference in the internal affairs of other states and to propagate the policy of discord between nations are not accidental. Revealing the true class content of these positions, which give expression to the great ideological confrontations of the contemporary world, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu made manifest the reactionary and mystifying character of the cosmopolitan approaches regarding human rights, by means of which an attempt is made to create confusion among the various social strata and to hide the ills of the bourgeois order and the disorientation of those who seek a new path in the evolution of society.

At the same time, the speech of the secretary general of the party has a profound constructive and mobilizing character, defining clearly the directions

of action of wider and wider circles of public opinion and of all peoples for combating and defeating any reactionary thought and for ensuring the triumph of advanced, progressive views, among which also go the effective and real achievement of human rights and freedoms everywhere in the world and the full affirmation of the human personality.

The problem of human rights can be considered, indeed, a major problem of contemporary international relations, since the correct resolution of it is of a nature to favor the well-being and progress of mankind and the development of friendly relations between states. However, this is only within the framework of an approach to the problems of human rights and freedoms in their total and true significance.

At the assembly of the central party and state active, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, referring to the propaganda in the Western countries in connection with the problem of human rights, pointed out that "some try to shift the main accent to marginal aspects or to formal aspects, seeking in essence to divert attention from the serious social anomalies that basically affect man under capitalism." In fact, as followed from the proceedings of the Belgrade Conference and from the debates within the United Nations and other international organizations, the Western states are dwelling, in particular, on procedural mechanisms, on collateral, nonessential aspects of these problems and are raising tendentiously distorted individual situations to the rank of a principle. At the same time, the reactionary circles are invoking alleged deprivations of the rights of cohabiting nationalities in some socialist countries and are posing as "defenders" of the policy of the so-called "reintegration" of families in order to discredit the ideas of socialism and the economic and social achievements of the socialist order.

However, the promotion and universal respecting of human rights and freedoms presuppose as a "sine qua non" condition the priority approaching and resolving of the major, essential aspects that arise in this field, such as the guaranteeing of the freedom and equal rights of all peoples and nationalities, the elimination of any social inequalities and any forms of discrimination, the provision of equal, real and actual rights to work, education and culture and to the benefits of civilization, the continual improvement of living conditions, and the multilateral development of the human personality in all countries of the world.

According to contemporary international law, all states have the obligation to promote and respect the basic human rights and freedoms and to cooperate to solve the international problems with a humanitarian character.

Respect for human rights implies, first, recognition of the equal rights of the peoples and of their right to decide their fate by themselves. At the same time, this basic principle of contemporary international law must be regarded as a basic human right, because there can be no question of the affirmation of human rights and freedoms as long as peoples and nations lack the right to freely determine their political status and to establish their

economic, social and cultural development in accordance with their aspirations and interests. "It is not possible to speak of humanism," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "when the right of each nation, of each people to be complete master of its destiny, to develop as it wants, without fear of any aggression or intervention of any kind, is not recognized."

The struggle for the definitive and total elimination of colonialism and against any forms of oppression and exploitation of peoples and of threat or pressure against other nations is thus imposed as a basic requirement for providing the legitimate right of all states and nations to existence, sovereignty and independence, equal rights, without which it is not possible to conceive of the promotion and affirmation of universal respect for the rights and freedoms of the individuals that compose these entities.

Respect for human rights also presupposes the full equality in rights of all individuals, the elimination of any discrimination based on race, sex, language or religion. Nondiscrimination and the equality in rights of individuals are affirmed at present as a mandatory norm for the states, written into many provisions of the UN Charter, into pacts on human rights and into other international documents.

However, the most brutal forms of violation of human rights and freedoms are still continuing to appear in the international community, such as the racist and apartheid policy that the minority circles in the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, with the moral and even material support of Western powers, are conducting against the colored population in this region totaling millions of persons. Apartheid, considered "a crime against humanity," like any other form of racial discrimination, denies human equality and dignity, universally recognized as a basis of the legitimate rights of each citizen. The World Conference for the Fight Against Racism and Racial Discrimination at Geneva must distinguish itself with firm, concrete measures that provide for the elimination of these anachronistic and profoundly antihuman practices.

It is not possible to ignore, either, the obvious discrimination that is still practiced in the capitalist countries toward certain national minorities, the unequal treatment of women in comparison with men, the policy of persecution of progressive and democratic militants, the discriminatory conditions for foreign workers, and many other actual limitations on civil rights and liberties that have been for a long time a part of the economic and political landscape of a society that "proclaims" as a basic principle of life "the protection of human rights."

A number of individual rights and freedoms have been acknowledged in many international instruments concluded within the United Nations. Certainly, the legal framework offered by these international documents creates favorable conditions for the affirmation of rights and freedoms in the world. However, the role of the legal and political instruments, both those with an international character and those that are adopted on a national plane, must not be

fetishized, because they can remain mere documents, formal ones, to the extent to which they are not put into practice by means of real measures and guarantees of implementation. The realities show indubitably that the effective application of the proclaimed rights and freedoms is determined, in particular, by the nature of the society in which these rights and freedoms are achieved, by the policy of the classes that promote them, by the social views that they reflect.

In the countries with an order based on the exploitation of man by man, even in the countries with strong industrial development, many of the basic human rights and freedoms being formally proclaimed are the object of constant demands of the masses, especially the working class.

As the secretary general of our party pointed out, true democracy and true humanism are not compatible with the perpetuation of the exploitation of man by man, with the maintenance of the serious economic, social and political inequalities characteristic of capitalism, with national, social and racial discrimination. In a society that does not provide to masses of millions of people the essential possibility of earning their living by means of work, of directly participating in the leadership of society, in the making of the decisions that concern their own existence, their own future, it is not possible to speak of real democracy, of freedom, of the provision of the basic human rights.

Phenomena harmful to the healthy development of the peoples, especially the young people, such as criminality and the spread of violence, drug addiction, prostitution and pornography, are also manifesting themselves with growing virulence in the capitalist world. They constitute manifestations of moral decay that lead to degradation of the human being and deeply affect the right to life and to health, the right to culture, and other basic human rights. Likewise, in the name of "unlimited freedom," organizations that propagate fascist and neofascist theories whose sole content is precisely the fierce hatred of all that means human dignity and civilization are permitted and encouraged on the territory of capitalist countries. Referring to this state of affairs, the secretary general of our party pointed out that democracy and human rights are incompatible with freedom for fascism, for terrorism, for the reactionary, declassé elements that present a serious danger to the progressive development of society.

The individualistic, formal-legal and procedural bourgeois view on the rights of an abstract man, separated from the social conditions, is also reflected in the inclinations that some Western political scientists and jurists show to treat the implications of these rights outside their economic and social context, to put foremost, in a unilateral view, the rights related to the inviolability of the person and of civil liberty, with blurring and neglect of the economic and social rights. However, such a position is rejected even by well-known scientists in the West, such as, for example, American specialist John K. Galbraith, who said the following in an interview: "As far as I am concerned, I prefer that attention be paid to the deprivation of liberty

and the discrimination that result from poverty: the Black ghetto, unemployment of young people, antifeminist discrimination. In the United States there are enough disadvantaged minorities, lacking de facto the exercise of their freedom and civil rights, for the interest to be concentrated in this direction. Nothing is more incompatible with the use of freedom than misery."<sup>7</sup>

The situation of the less developed countries, whose lagging, caused especially by the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, cannot permit at present the creation of material conditions needed for the real exercise of human rights and freedoms, is extremely acute.

The state of absolute poverty and the living conditions characterized by malnutrition, disease and illiteracy are causing at least 40 percent of the 2 billion inhabitants of Asia, Africa and Latin America to be, in reality, deprived of the use of essential rights and freedoms, especially economic, social and cultural rights. In these countries, the number of those who suffer from hunger and malnutrition is over 500 million. Some 20-25 percent of the children die before reaching the age of 5 years. The average lifespan is 20 years below that of the inhabitants of the developed countries. Illiteracy affects 800 million of the inhabitants of the developing countries. As was also noted in the works of Western authors, the rules and standards concerning human rights have much less meaning and much fewer possibilities of application in the societies in which a substantial part of the population is the victim of malnutrition, famine and illiteracy.

Criticizing the attitude held thus far by the industrially developed states that have not supported the efforts of the developing countries to promote human rights on an economic and social plane in their countries, the representative of Iran pointed out during a recent session of the Commission on Human Rights: "The industrial countries have shirked their responsibility in this regard, but, at the same time, they invoke respect for civil rights and individual freedoms--which costs them nothing and which they do for reasons that are not always unselfish--in order to interfere in the internal affairs of other states."<sup>10</sup>

The significance of human rights and freedoms in the socialist countries is completely otherwise. The realities of economic, social and political life in socialist Romania demonstrate the great significance that our party and state accord to the human person, starting from the necessity of providing for his well-being. The essential characteristic of the institution of civil rights and liberties in the Romanian Socialist Republic consists of the fact that the source of these rights is found in the very essence of the socialist order, in the socialization of the means of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, in the democratism of the state organization, in which the power belongs totally and truly to the people. In our country, a process of continual enrichment and expansion of human rights and freedoms is occurring, along with the ascendant process of economic and social development of the whole society. Concomitant with the proclamation of these rights and freedoms in the basic law of the state, many material, economic,

social and legal guarantees for their real and full implementation are provided. By means of these things, there is promoted, in connection with human rights, the superior view of our party and state on democracy, which--as was reaffirmed at the recent session of the central party and state active-- starts from "the need to provide full equality between people, to achieve fair economic and social relations that permit each citizen to lead a dignified life, from free access to education, culture and science, from the possibility of the direct participation of the people, regardless of nationality--and especially the working people--in the leadership of the whole society. Only such a practical approach to the problem of democracy can ensure the full affirmation of the human personality and corresponds to the cause of the unchaining of man, who will be truly free and master of his destiny."

Consequently, the elimination of colonialism, racism and racial discrimination, of underdevelopment, and of the economic, political and social inequities that characterize the orders based on exploitation and domination constitutes the basic, essential requirement in the field of human rights, which must be stimulated by means of active cooperation of all the states, for the promotion of true humanism, conceived in a broad view.

Nothing can be more incorrect and unrealistic than the attempt to isolate the concerns for the protection and respecting of human rights from the general incidence of the basic principles of international law or to ignore the reality that these rights must be achieved directly by means of the sovereign national state. As is known, in the last century "classical" international law recognized the licit character of "humanitarian interventions," in fact forms of manifestation of the desire of the great imperialist powers to maintain their spheres of influence, to protect by force of arms colonial or semicolonial exploitation, to interfere in the internal affairs of other states. Now, which this kind of intervention is condemned as being incompatible with the affirmation of the principles of the sovereignty and the self-determination of the peoples, other theories are resorted to.

Thus, along the line of the attempts to "counterpose" humanitarian values to the general principles of international law, in the political-scientific and legal literature in the Western countries various theoretical constructions are promoted by means of which the idea is accredited that not only the state but also the "individual" would become a "subject" of international law, with the protection of his rights implying means of action and execution against the sovereign national states themselves.

"The individual," it is maintained in such a work, "now becomes a subject of international law, which henceforth it would be proper to call 'world law.' He is directly protected by this law...and the states can no longer invoke their internal jurisdiction."<sup>11</sup> It was even asserted that, as long as sovereignty predominates in international relations, the protection of human rights remains deficient.<sup>12</sup>

In addition, in a recent work appearing in the United States, it is asserted that, in the opinion of many American authors specializing in international

law, "the problems of human rights belong to those that, in particular, must be subject to transnational decisions."<sup>13</sup> However, a careful examination of such theories shows that they do not have scientific support, are unrealistic and are profoundly harmful to relations between states, to the spirit of peaceful cooperation between peoples, since they counterpose human rights to the principles of the sovereignty of the peoples.

In the spirit of such theories, and distorting the principles written into the Helsinki documents, reactionary elements in some capitalist countries, behind an alleged humanitarian interest, are demanding the "right" to question the ultimate choice of the broad masses for democracy and socialism and, at the same time, are performing an intense activity for inciting Romanian citizens of various nationalities to leave their native land and to emigrate. Not only do such actions have a deeply inhuman character and strike at the dignity of man, at the possibility of his full manifestation and affirmation within the social framework in which he developed, but, at the same time, they also constitute interference in internal affairs, since they attempt premeditatedly to subject to the judgment of other states or international forums problems whose solution is in the jurisdiction of each particular state.

Human rights cannot be interpreted and examined apart from recognition of the states' national sovereignty and the other basic principles that are prescribed in the contemporary community. The sovereign states and nations are and remain the natural framework in which human rights and freedoms can be achieved. Not the diminution of the sovereignty of the states but, on the contrary, its affirmation is an indispensable condition for the provision of real and effective protection of human rights.

The international collaboration in the field of human rights must not be understood in the sense that it replaces the states and their national sovereignty. As in any other field of cooperation, it is necessary for it to be conceived within the framework of the postulates recognized by means of the UN Charter, it having to give expression to the recognition and consolidation of the states' sovereignty and independence, their capacity as equal members of the international community.

Moreover, the close correlation and the dependence that exist between the promotion of human rights and the basic principles of contemporary international law, recognized by means of the charter, have been affirmed expressly by means of important international documents, such as "The Declaration Referring to the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between States in Accordance with the UN Charter," adopted within the United Nations on 24 October 1970 (UN General Assembly Resolution 2,625, XXV), and the final document of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe from 1 August 1975. "The preliminary, essential condition for the effective exercise of all rights, especially economic, social and cultural rights," it is also recognized in a report prepared under the aegis of the UN Commission on Human Rights, "consists of independence, territorial



integrity and national sovereignty. If this condition is not met, no effort at economic and social development can lead to the creation of a more equalitarian and more just society."<sup>14</sup>

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu again pointed out, the policy of collaboration between states, on the basis of full equality in rights, the principles of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage, is "the only thing that can provide a democratic evolution of world political life, relations of friendship and collaboration between all nations, and the strengthening of security and peace in the world."

The many implications of the creation of a new international order with regard to the human condition are brought out strongly by the substantial and creative contributions, unanimously appreciated on a national and international level, of the chairman of socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the elaboration of the concept of a new international economic and political order and the strategy for achieving it.<sup>15</sup> The establishment of a new international economic and political order also provides essential conditions for the universal achievement of human rights. In fact, the content and evolution of international relations in their entirety, affecting the life and development of the peoples, have profound implications regarding the promotion of human rights. The negative phenomena of contemporary world development--the intensification of the policy of redivision of the world, of the spheres of influence, the accentuation of the contradictions between various states and groups of states that can generate new armed conflicts, the alarming proportions of the arms race, the maintenance of the danger of a new world war, the division of the world into rich countries and poor countries, the persistence of the outmoded and unfair system of international relations, the world economic crisis and other global problems that confront all mankind--are also having repercussions of the most unfavorable sort on the universal affirmation of human dignity and value.

The new system of interstate relations, which must be achieved within the framework of a new world order, has at its basis the principles of full equality in rights for all nations, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and abstention from force and the threat of force--principles whose strict implementation is of a nature to ensure a peaceful world of free peoples cooperating fruitfully with each other, in which each nation dedicates its creative energies to its development and progress, providing for the multilateral development of the human personality.

The elimination of the old order and the erection of a new international economic order, having as a basic objective the elimination of underdevelopment, correspond to the necessity of achieving the framework needed for the universal achievement of the states' right to development and progress, which implicitly provides for the as full achievement as possible of human rights and freedoms. The obligation of the states to cooperate among themselves to achieve economic and social development, as an essential condition for the

promotion of human rights, especially economic, social and cultural rights, follows from the UN Charter, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and from other international documents. In this context, the right to development can also be regarded as a basic human right. This objective reality is also finding its recognition to a greater and greater degree within the UN system. "The achievement of a new international economic order," it is stated in one of the resolutions adopted at the last session of the UN General Assembly, "is an essential element for effectively promoting the rights of man and his basic freedoms, and priority must also be given to it."<sup>16</sup>

The achievement of general and complete disarmament constitutes an essential coordinate for the provision of peace. At the same time, disarmament, a basic component of a new international order, represents an imperative for the promotion of human rights, the right to peace and to life. The accumulation and improvement of nuclear weapons and the designing of new types of mass-destruction weapons are endangering the very existence of man on our planet. The removal of immense material and human resources by means of the arms race from their utilization for the development and progress of all peoples is having profoundly negative repercussions on the human condition, on the achievement of basic rights, especially economic, social and cultural rights.

Militating steadily and perseveringly for the cessation of the arms race, for the adoption and application of concrete and effective measures of disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament, Romania is also devoting special attention to the economic and social implications of this race, to its repercussions on the human condition. This concern was crystallized in the act of writing up as a part of UN activity, on the initiative of our country, the problem "The Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and its Profoundly Harmful Effects on Peace and Security in the World." The resolutions adopted, the reports prepared, and the keeping of the problem in discussion at the United Nations can contribute to a better understanding by the states and by world public opinion of the dimensions of the profoundly harmful consequences for the economic and social development of the peoples, of all individuals, and for peace that result from the accelerated and generalized rate of the arms race and the accumulation of immense quantities of weapons, and especially nuclear weapons, capable of completely destroying mankind.

The promotion and provision of universal respect for human rights and freedoms can find their full realization only under the conditions of the achievement of the new international order. For precisely this reason, the appeal that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu addressed to all revolutionary and progressive forces to militate and act as decisively as possible to achieve this new, superior framework for carrying out international relations--with strong possibilities also on the plane of the multilateral affirmation of the human personality--is of great significance and topicality. The organization of a special session of the United Nations devoted to the new international economic order constitutes an important occasion for defining a program and a clear orientation of action in all fields that it entails and for stimulating the whole international community to attain this major objective of mankind.

Romania's actions that, on an internal and international plane, seek the full affirmation of the human personality demonstrate, with all possible vigor, the consistent achievement of revolutionary humanism, found in the center of the entire activity of the party and our state. The concern for the citizen of our homeland, for the creation of the internal and external conditions under which he can display his creative potentialities without hindrance, is combined with a high sense of responsibility for the progress and prosperity of all nations and gives expression to the high humanistic outlook of the secretary general of the party, who addressed to all world public opinion the call to militate decisively for a new humanism that truly puts man and his well-being, dignity and happiness in the forefront.

#### FOOTNOTES

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3. See: "Situation des Droits de l'Homme en Afrique Australe," Rapport du Groupe Special d' Experts, Commission des Droits de l'Homme, Document E/CN4/1,224, 31 January 1977; E. Landis, "Les Droits de l'Homme en Namibie," REVUE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME, Vol IX, Nos 2-3, Paris, 1976.
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5. See: "Human Rights--a Compilation of International Instruments of [the] United Nations," New York, 1973; "United Nations Action in the Field of Human Rights," New York, 1974.
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12. "International Law Association," Report of the Fifty-Third Conference, Buenos Aires, pp 417, 425.
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14. M. Ganji, op. cit., p 321.
15. I. Ceterchi and N. Androne, "The New International Order and Human Rights," in the volume "Catre o Noua Ordine Internationala" /Toward a New International Order/, Politica Publishing House, 1976, pp 359-384.
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PROFESSOR'S DISTORTED VIEWS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM ATTACKED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 78 pp 18-20

[Article by Miha Achim: "The Illusions of Mystifiers of the Theory of Scientific Socialism"]

[Text] In the process of erecting the new order, the Romanian Communist Party is devoting special attention to the theoretical and ideological activity, to the affirmation of the transforming power of the ideas of scientific socialism, creatively applied to the concrete conditions of the country.

The program of the party, the documents of the 11th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP, and the addresses and speeches of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an expression of creative scientific socialism, stress the necessity of investigating the basic problems of contemporary social development, of the organization of society, of the rights and freedoms of the masses, of the human condition, of philosophical thought and spiritual creation. In this regard, the intensification and deepening of the study of the experience of socialist construction must be accompanied by the demonstration of the truth that the capitalist society, based on the exploitation of man by man, is historically doomed to perish, with greater attention being devoted--as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the session of the central party and state active--to combating and exposing reactionary, idealistic, obscurantist, mystical ideas and theses, retrograde thought, in order to ensure the triumph of advanced, revolutionary views about the world.

The fight against reactionary, obscurantist views has a long tradition in scientific socialism, in progressive thought here. It presupposes, as in other fields of ideological work, revolutionary boldness combined with concrete

knowledge of the opinions subject to critical analysis. It does not mean a verbalistic "slalom" or a valve for "release" by means of linguistic expressions uncontrolled by the standards of good conduct. The concerns in the field of the social sciences require a critical delimitation regarding the opposed views that express the interests of the outmoded classes. Above all, the direction to which we are referring constitutes real proof of the fact that the problems of the various social sciences are not just of a strict specialty but constitute problems of communist theory and ideology.

In the present article, although we are starting from an analysis of a case of erroneous and biased interpretation of the ideas of scientific socialism, of revolutionary humanism, we are seeking to point out by this means a few more widely significant aspects of the critical function of the social sciences, especially philosophy.

The work "Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx" (Filozofie si Mit la Karl Marx),\* written by American Prof Robert W. Tucker of Johns Hopkins University, fits into the current discussions concerning the problems of humanism. Published in the English language and then translated into many languages, it is regarded as one of the "best" ideological works and cited in a leading place as a "classic" work in antisocialist literature in the West.

The problem of periodization of the work of the founders of scientific socialism has given rise to countless viewpoints. If it were just a formal problem, it would not deserve to be discussed for so long and would not be entitled to get attention. Basically, it is a problem that entails an understanding of the content of the revolutionary outlook of the working class on the world and life, of its essence, of its scientific and axiological significance, of its human meanings, of its importance in the contemporary world.

In Tucker's opinion, the central theme of Marx' outlook, that of radically changing the world, arose in the founder of scientific socialism first by a philosophical means and then by means of a "myth" built by himself. In this view, the first stage is marked by "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," and the second begins with the exposition of the materialistic view of history in "The German Ideology," in "The Manifesto of the Communist Party" and in "Capital." The "original Marxism" was mainly philosophical, although it contained the premises of a "myth," while the "mature Marxism" went beyond philosophy, but without abandoning it, coming to be a "myth" to a great extent.

A critical analysis of the ideas of R. Tucker must be started by pointing out a basic element of unilaterality. The American professor is of the opinion that the path to the materialistic view of history and the theory of communism

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\* The references to this work will be given in the text.

has its origin not in the study of political economy or in the French doctrines on socialism and communism but directly and exclusively in classical German philosophy, from Immanuel Kant to Ludwig Feuerbach. The first thing that must be said in combating this opinion is the fact that "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" is proof, by its very content, of the influence exercised on Marx not only by classical German philosophy but also by political economy and by French, English and German socialism and communism. Presenting the relationships of Marx' thought to classical German philosophy, Tucker sometimes depicts them correctly, utilizing extended information. Beyond this layer of truth that leaves the impression of an objective position there is the real zone of his true ideas about this problem, which, in our opinion, consist of distorting important points of the thought of the representatives of classical German philosophy, of building up the connections between scientific socialism and classical German philosophy, going almost so far as to annihilate any originality of Marx' ideas, and of inventing connections along the line of the "religious ideas" between his thought and classical German philosophy. Nevertheless, we cannot but note the fact that Tucker raises on this occasion a real problem, although in a mystified form, namely that of the humanistic vein of classical German philosophy as one of the sources of scientific socialism.

Starting from the mystification of Marx' ideas about communism, Tucker tries to explain the worldwide audience that scientific socialism now has by means of its "utopian" character, thus rejecting the real explanation of this fact, that is, the existence of a correspondence between the interests of the masses and the ideas of socialism, as well as the scientific character, verified in practice, of this view. More than that, he regards as an essential element of this "utopia," which contributes to a great extent to its dissemination in the world, the idea of a revolution that is not political "but rather a revolution of man's attitude toward himself and of the goals of his existence, a revolution of values" (p 23). Understanding that scientific socialism is seen in the contemporary world as an answer given to basic problems with which mankind is confronted (the necessity of general management of the problems of mankind due to uncontrolled economic growth, pollution, poverty, the depletion of natural resources, and the current industrial revolution), Tucker recognizes a truth that could hardly be denied. However, the way in which he explains and interprets it obviously follows the ideological coordinates of social classes which are afraid of the influence of the revolutionary theory of the working class and want to give it a totally different meaning, nourishing the vain illusion of reducing its penetrating power.

In this context of ideas, we consider it necessary to point out that an economic view dominated for a long time in the criticism made by Marxist thinkers about the distorting views of bourgeois ideologists on communism or in the positive exposition of the ideas of Marx and Engels regarding the society of the future, and still, in some cases, this practice has not been abandoned. It is true that Marx and Engels referred to the mode of distribution and organization of the communist society, but to no less an extent they also gave attention to other human components of this society (the ratio between

necessary worktime and free time, the relationship between man and man, the connection between the individual and the community, the replacement of the egoistic spirit with a moral spirit, in the middle of which is the understanding of man as an end, the transformation of vital activity into an understood necessity and a pleasure, the achievement of a developed man, rich from the spiritual viewpoint, and so on). In our opinion, these last aspects of socialist humanism deserve to get greater attention from research in the field of our social sciences and to be integrated much more decisively, more systematically and more organically into the ideological struggle that we are obliged to perform. In this way, not only would it be possible to explain in a more nuanced manner the influence of scientific socialism in the world, but it would also be possible to act in the sense of increasing this influence, revealing the essential differences between revolutionary humanism (not just from an economic viewpoint) and the states of affairs in the capitalist countries.

An analysis of the realities in our society and in the contemporary world from the viewpoint of this humanism must possess great significance in this undertaking. In this way, criticism well reasoned from the viewpoint of the logical rigor characteristic of the essence of the dialectical-materialistic view and from that of factual, concretizing richness could be opposed to the antiscientific theories. In this regard, the RCP program, the documents of the 11th congress and the national conference, and the speeches of the secretary general of our party constitute not only eloquent but also pathfinding position-takings along the line of the original development of the view of scientific socialism with regard to revolutionary humanism.

Of what would the so-called "myth" of Marx' ideas consist? His entire view, says Tucker, starts from the presentation and understanding of the inner, subjective reality, which then was alienated in a world foreign to man. In the development of scientific socialism there occurred a change--the American ideologist asserts--that consists of the point that man is no longer the central theme of the "mature Marxism" presenting a world from which man seems to be absent. In this new period, Marx no longer concerned himself with the generic man, with the idea of the self-alienation of man. The relationship of the alienated ego, says Tucker, was transformed into a social relationship, and man became merely the aggregate of the social relationships. The forces of the alienated man were understood and perceived merely as exteriorizing forces within society. Marx came to elaborate the materialistic view of history as a doctrinary framework of a critical division in which the dualism of the conflictual forces of the alienated ego was understood as a dualism of the social forces, as a class struggle in society, as a state of war between labor and capital. From this viewpoint, Tucker asserts, it is possible to say that the "mature" or "modern Marxism" is the "original Marxism mystified." The decisive characteristic of the "myth," Tucker maintains, is the following: something of an inner nature is understood as being outer, as a drama of the inner life of man that is experienced and described as occurring in the outer world.



Analyzing Tucker's ideas about the "myth" of Marx, one sees that they are based on an incorrect understanding--on the order of the essence--of his view. Distorting scientific socialism from the positions of social forces opposed to the working class, whose basic social tendencies he expresses in a theoretical form, the American professor makes himself the ideological exponent of the classes condemned by the development of society, classes unable to accept or recognize their fate and supporting the false belief according to which this fate does not have an objective and necessary character but is imagined by the dialectical-materialistic view. The real myth is not the "myth" of Marx but the ideology of those social forces that believe, along with Tucker, that scientific socialism is a "myth." It is not without sense, in this regard, for us to point out the fact that what irks the American professor for the most part is the consideration of socialism as having a scientific character, the admission of the class struggle as a propelling force of the development of the bourgeois society, the acceptance of the idea of the inevitable disappearance of capitalism, an idea formulated by Marx in "Capital" as a conclusion built on immense historical, factual and theoretical documentation, and the appearance and development of the socialist society in a number of countries of the world irk him.

An analysis of the works of the founders of scientific socialism, when it is done with scientific honesty, reveals that the struggle of the progressive social forces, especially the proletariat, and the socialist revolution and construction do not represent ends in themselves, separated and isolated from man or opposed to him. They are revolutionary means and ways by which the human essence is unchained from its foreign content and form and transformed into what the historical laws and trends require, namely into a true essence. Basically, it is a question of a revolutionary approach of an intensity and scope unknown in the course of the world history of the alienated social world of man, developed within the societies divided into antagonistic classes, and especially under capitalism, by man, that is, by the one who created and is continually creating it by consuming his essential forces, especially the work force. We are in the presence of one of the most notable ideas of scientific socialism formulated by K. Marx, who not only said that the communist ideas become a material force when they include the masses but also, at the same time, added and demonstrated that they can become such a force when they constitute an *ad hominem* proof. Speaking about the ideas of scientific socialism with regard to society and its revolutionary transformation, we cannot overlook and we have the duty to not overlook--a fact also resulting from the entire content of the documents of our party--man, the one who not only creates social life but, at the same time, wants it to contribute fully, without class, national, racial and geographical-zone restrictions, to the multilateral progress of society, to the omnilateral fulfillment of the personality of the individuals. Going only as far as man, the ideas of scientific socialism can demonstrate their entire mobilizing, revolutionary capacity and their real superiority of content in relation to all other ideologies extant or known in the history of mankind.

Along this line of thinking, we feel that our social disciplines, in their entirety, must devote more constant attention to the essential humanistic

content of the ideas of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism, both on the whole and in their basic aspects, to the affirmation of their transforming power. For instance, the disproportion of the accent that is put in the courses of Marxist philosophy taught in secondary and higher education on the determination of the categories of matter, space and time, and movement, as compared with the almost peripheral treatment of the problems of man, especially modern man, is at least unnatural. Of course, to all these things are added the necessity and duty of responding to an extremely topical ideological need under the conditions in which in the middle of the struggle of contemporary ideas there is the problems of human rights and freedoms, the affirmation of the irreducible opposition between bourgeois humanism and socialist humanism. Bourgeois humanism gives expression to the crisis through which the contemporary capitalist society is passing and reveals that it, by means of its implications, is also a human one, a crisis of its traditional humanistic values, and cultivates the egoistic instinct and individualism along with a more and more marked process of erosion of the human personality, of leveling and depersonalization of man. Socialist humanism conceives the full affirmation and development of the human personality not in isolation but within the framework of the whole society, promoting the rational and noble principle according to which personal happiness cannot be achieved by violating others' right to happiness but only within the framework of achieving the general happiness of the group, of the people, of humanity. Demonstrating the force of the ideas of scientific communism, this is regarded as the highest, most advanced form of humanistic thought, the realistic, not utopian, expression of the fulfillment of the ideal of justice and equality in the world. The view of the Romanian Communist Party on humanism is based on a complex understanding of man in society, taken not as an isolated individual, with exaggeration of his individual traits, but as a social man found in a close connection and interdependence with his fellow men, with the interests of the masses. Starting from the understanding of man as a socially integrated being, our party rejects the idea of an abstract, individualistic humanism that ignores the interests of the group, of society.

In correlation with his ideas about the "myth" of Marx, Tucker regards scientific socialism as being a "religion of revolution" and makes a number of totally unfounded analogies between this view and Christianity. For example, the appearance and assimilation of the philosophy of the working class as being an all-inclusive image of reality are viewed as being common to that existing in the Christian religion. In fact, the similarity between them is strictly formal. Religion is a fanciful reflection of the world that presupposes a belief in the supernatural, while dialectical and historical materialism is a real reflection of the world that presupposes a belief in reason and in the transforming powers of man. Along this line of thinking, Tucker tries to accredit the idea that, just as religion is powerless to change the situation of man, likewise the philosophy of the revolutionary class would be an "evasion" (p 242) in relation to the real problems of man. It would not be an ordinary moral but a "moral of evasion" (p 243). Marx, claims Tucker, "created a gospel for rising above alienation by other means than those that can themselves contain the solution, a solution that eliminates the solution,

a pseudosolution. Consequently, Marxism has been a failure. At best, it has been one of the great aberrations of the mind of man in his long and continual search for self-clarification" (p 242).

For the authentic Marx, the situation of the worker (as an individual and a member of the class) under capitalism is not a drama experienced in the form of a "myth." It is a complex of circumstances that he experiences with all his human forces, as a concrete man, a product of the capitalist production relations, of the objectifications of the activity of the previous generations, of the circumstances, of the material and spiritual culture. His alienation is the expression, on the plane of his ordinary and concrete life, of the total contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. What Marx asked of and suggested to the proletariat (each member in particular and the class in general) was the conscientization of this state of affairs and the performance of a political and social action in the direction of eliminating the bourgeois order and proceeding to construct the new society. In this scientific view there is incontestably an ethical element, along the line of the best humanistic traditions of the spiritual culture of mankind. Only by transforming the world will the proletariat change its own inhuman condition and lay the foundations for an order in which morals are not just affirmed ideationally and in opposition to the field of existence but become an inseparable aspect of the life of man. The desire for liberation of the proletariat has not been and is not a "myth" or a "religion," since it has expressed and expresses the necessary trends of social development. The entire evolution of contemporary society demonstrates that this is how matters stand, despite the things asserted by Tucker.

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## ROMANIA

### UNANIMOUS SUPPORT FOR CREATION OF UNITED STATE IN 1918

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 78 pp 27-30

[Article by Dr Mircea Musat: "1 December 1918--a Crowning of the Struggle of the Romanian People To Forge the United National State"]

[Text] A crucial event in our national history, the forging of the united Romanian state in the memorable year of 1918 crowned the consistent and tireless struggle of the Romanian people for freedom, unity and independence and constituted the expression of a lawlike, objective process of social development and affirmation in this region. Having its roots strongly planted in the earlier evolution of the Romanian people, the union in 1918 gave, at the same time, a new and strong impetus to the aspirations and efforts of our nation to forge itself a better life and to be free and sovereign in its own country.

The history of the Romanians is the history of a steadfast people in one and the same abode, in which they followed their own path of action and manifestation, of development of their material and spiritual culture, in which they formed original and lasting values, entered into the heritage of world civilization and culture. Molded as a united people on an extensive area in southeastern Europe, and strikingly asserting their individuality in this part of the continent, the Romanian people preserved without interruption, over the course of time, their continuity of material and spiritual life, their ethnic, linguistic, cultural and spiritual community, adding a new luster to the homeland and the traditions inherited from their ancestors.

Many archeological traces and much written evidence from ancient times allude to the Geto-Dacians, who were a part of the numerous family of Thracians, with deep roots throughout the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area, and about whom the great historian of ancient times, Herodotus, wrote more than 2,500 years ago that "they are the most valient and most just of the Thracians." It is worth noting that the very old written sources concerning the Geto-Dacians depict them as always involved in the great events of the time, in the position of defenders of the homeland from those who disregarded their borders, violated their traditions, customs and land, and disturbed their peaceful life. The epoch of the thriving centralized and independent Dacian state

under the leadership of Burebista, judged as "the first and greatest of all the kings who ever ruled over Thrace," occupies a leading place in history.

The state led by Burebista, the 2,050th anniversary of whose establishment we will celebrate in 1980, exercised its influence over a vast territory, going in the northwest up to the Slovak Mountains and the middle Danube, toward the south to the Balkan Mountains, and toward the southeast up to the north of the Black Sea. The epoch of Burebista set up the epoch of Decebalus, the king of the Dacians who faced in the 1st century A.D. one of the greatest powers of ancient times--the Roman Empire.

After their formation, through the blending of Dacian and Roman civilization, the Romanian people had to conduct a long and hard struggle to preserve their being, language and ancestral land, to ensure their continuity on the territory where they arose and developed. In the 4th-10th centuries, which correspond to the period of passage of the migratory populations over the territory of our homeland, the Romanian people continued to lead their economic, social and political life, materializing their uninterrupted presence in the ancestral abode by forming the Romanian feudal states throughout the area of ancient Dacia. At the start of the 10th century, the Romanian feudal state formations led by Gelu, Glad and Memmorumut, vaivodes who fought bravely against Hungarian King Arpad and his policy of robbery and conquest, on the territory of Transylvania were mentioned in the chronicle "Gesta Hungarorum." In the Romanian area east of the Carpathians, the ancient chronicles mention a number of Romanian vaivodates, such as that of the Birladeni, in the center of Moldavia, that of the Brodnici, between the curve of the Carpathians and the Danube, and so on, as well as those of Litovoi, Seneslau, Ioan, Farcas, Lord Dimitrie, Balica, Dobrotita and so many others on the territory between the Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea.

The harsh historical circumstances and some characteristics of the feudal order, characterized in general by political disintegration, caused the process of formation of the centralized Romanian state to not include all at once the whole territory inhabited by Romanians, with independent feudal states being formed at first--Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia. However, this disintegration did not substantially affect the unity of the Romanian people, expressed in the community of language and culture, in the similarities of the economic, social and cultural structure of the whole territory inhabited by Romanians. Close ties were always maintained between the Romanian countries, with their internal organization, administration, high officialdom, justice, army and other feudal institutions being identical or similar.

Such realities, based on the common ethnic and linguistic background of all the territories inhabited by the Romanian people, nourished a strong and steady consciousness of the unity of origin, a consciousness that found its expression in the constant struggle, over the centuries, for the unity, integrity and independence of the country, against any foreign aggression, and for the defense of the homeland. The ideals of freedom, unity and prosperity were always inscribed on the battle flags of the people and increased their

powers in times of tribulation, mobilizing them to acts of legendary heroism. Under the leadership of illustrious national and military leaders like Mircea the Old, Iancu of Hunedoara, Vlad Tepes, Stephen the Great, Prince Ioan the Brave, Michael the Brave, Constantin Brincoveanu, Dimitrie Cantemir and many others, the Romanians wrote pages of a true epic in the struggle against foreign oppression and for the defense of the homeland.

The joint resistance of the Romanian countries against the Ottoman peril and the victories gained in the struggle for independence allowed the Romanian countries to conclude agreements and treaties with the Porte, as far back as in the 14th century, by means of which the sovereign power of the rulers was recognized, and in exchange for a sum of money that they were obliged to pay to the Sultan as tribute, the Ottoman Porte pledged to ensure the territorial integrity and independence of the Romanian countries. Even later, in the middle of the 16th century, when the Ottoman Porte's political and economic pressure on the Romanian countries increased, the political wisdom and, at the same time, the steadfastness of the Romanian people managed to impede the occupation of the principalities and their transformation into Turkish provinces administered by the Porte on the basis of Mohammedan customs and laws. By means of the political treaties concluded, the Romanian countries maintained their administrative autonomy and governed themselves according to their laws and customs.

Throughout the Middle Ages the struggle for national unity and freedom continued in the most diverse ways. The writings in the Romanian language, whether they were printed on this or that side of the Carpathians, on this or that side of the Milcov, strongly supported this struggle. The diffusion of the elements of culture and the wider and wider use of the Romanian language as a language of written culture led to the strengthening of the community of the Romanian people, to the expansion of the framework of their spiritual unity. All these things entitled chronicler Grigore Ureche to write that the inhabitants on both sides of the Carpathians came "from one mold," that "the Romanians, those who are inhabitants both of Transylvania and of Maramures, are from the same place as the Moldavians, and all come from Rim."

Regarding chronicler Miron Costin, he too was to nourish the same conviction: "The truest, most authentic name, since the first colonization by Trajan, is 'Ruman' or 'Romanus,' which name these people have always preserved among themselves... The same name is usually given to the Wallachians and the Moldavians and to those who live in the country of Transylvania." In his turn, Romanian scholar Dimitrie Cantemir stated: "The family of Moldavians, Wallachians and Transylvanians, all go by a common name, Romanians."

To Michael the Brave went the historical credit of having achieved the first political union of the Romanian countries, of having put under his authority--for a very short time, unfortunately--almost the entire territory of ancient Dacia. On 27 May 1600, Michael the Brave proudly called himself "lord of Wallachia, Transylvania and all Moldavia." Expressing a high appreciation of this remarkable moment in the history of the Romanian people, Comrade

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the union accomplished under the leadership of the great vaivode "has been inscribed forever, with letters of gold, in the chronicle of the country, this act becoming a brilliant, inspiring symbol for all the generations that aspired to the formation of the united national state."

When, in the process of the development of capitalist relations, the dynamic stimulus of economic progress and the need to expand and provide a single market were added to the elements of material and spiritual unity, to the linguistic and cultural community, to the ethnic unity, to the common aspirations and ideals, the consciousness of the unity of origin developed into a national consciousness, and the aspiration for unity became a political goal--the goal of uniting all the Romanian forces into a single national state.

A group of famous Moldavian and Wallachian chroniclers and the leaders of the Transylvanian School helped to develop the consciousness of the unity of the Romanian people, the consciousness of the common origin of the Romanians in all the territories, by putting an emphasis on the age-old struggles waged by our people against the invaders, on the moments of brilliance in their history. The word "Dacia" became a manifesto in the historical and literary publications of the age.

The revolt of the Transylvanian peasants in 1784, led by Horia, Closca and Crisan, was significant in the series of struggles for social and national freedom waged by the Romanian people in that period. Marx wrote with good reason that Horia planned to liberate his people, he becoming "the symbol of the rebirth of Dacia." The desire for freedom, the thirst for independence and the sentiment of national dignity were brilliantly embodied by Tudor Vladimirescu and by the generation of the revolutionaries of 1848, rising in struggle to achieve "freedom within and without," the Romanian people's right to unity and independence. The ideals of the revolutionaries of 1848 of eliminating the feudal relations and erecting ancient Dacia, the homeland of a great people who--as Alecu Russo wrote--would have "the sea as a fortification, the Danube as a belt..." were, for a time, darkened by the fierce opposition of the reactionary forces of society, supported fully by the great neighboring empires, deeply hostile to the Romanian people's striving for emancipation, to their national and social liberation, to their union into a single state.

Despite the frank opposition of the great neighboring powers, the Romanian people's desire for unity triumphed. The dual election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as ruler of Moldavia and Wallachia in January 1859 constituted an expression of the deep understanding of the ways to fulfill the aspiration for unity of the Romanian people in an unfavorable international situation. It was supported with patriotic enthusiasm by the broad masses. "A golden day of the century," the union of the principalities was thus achieved by means of what Mihail Kogalniceanu called "an energetic act of the nation."

The union of Moldavia with Wallachia and the creation of the modern Romanian state--a crowning of an objective historical process--served as a factor for supporting the efforts made to accomplish national and state unity, as a nucleus of attraction for all the Romanian provinces that were still under foreign occupation. The union of the principalities, the achievement of structural reforms required by the modernization of Romanian society, and the dignified policy conducted by Cuza in relations with the other European powers raised the prestige of our country and paved the way toward complete unity and independence.

The advancement of the country by means of social progress was able to be achieved only under the conditions of obtaining complete state independence, by eliminating the Turkish suzerainty and the protectorate of the European powers. The leaders of the Romanian people in that period acted on many planes to attain this basic objective. On 9 May 1877, under the political conditions created by the Russo-Turkish military conflict, the Romanian parliament, expressing the will and the aspirations of the entire populace, proclaimed, by a unanimous vote, the absolute independence of Romania. The proclamation of independence, legitimated by means of the battle with weapons in hand against the Ottoman armies, had a strong response and support among all the Romanians, including those in the territories found at that time under foreign domination.

The union in 1859 and the gaining of state independence in 1877 opened a new stage in the economic, social and cultural life of the country, in the national movement of the Romanians. The idea of national freedom embraced the thoughts and will of broad social strata, orienting the actions of the advanced political forces.

The creation of the political party of the working class in Romania in 1893 stimulated the struggle of the working class for social and national freedom, for the prosperity of the homeland. Right at the congress for setting up the party, the delegates pointed out the fact that "in Transylvania 3 million Romanians are in fact deprived of any political right," that they "are subject to continual insults on the part of unscrupulous administrations." The continual contact between the Romanian socialists in all the Romanian provinces and their joint actions took on new dimensions in the first decades of our century.

At the start of the 20th century, the economic, social and political development on both sides of the Carpathians raised before the Romanian nation the inexorable need to achieve state unity. The imperialist world war in the 1914-1918 period put a strong imprint on the development of the struggle for national liberation of the Romanian people and of other peoples found under foreign oppression. Having at its origin the struggle of the imperialist states to divide the world, to seize new spheres of influence, this war was condemned by the revolutionary, advanced forces in Romania and in other countries. Romania's participation in this war was not caused by designs of territorial invasion and annexation but by the desire to liberate the territories



inhabited by Romanians found under foreign domination. Yielding to the pressures of the Entente powers, the ruling circles of the country decided to enter the war on their side, since they promised to satisfy the desire of our national unity. The later evolution of events created new, favorable conditions in the context of which the ideal of national unity was successfully fulfilled.

The collapse of czarism in February 1917 and the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution resounded as an enthusiastic stimulus for the struggle to fulfill the aspirations for liberty and self-determination of all the peoples of the world. The military defeats suffered by the Central Powers and the intensification of the struggles for national liberation represented a strong factor for accelerating the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, confirming the prediction that F. Engels had made to Romanian socialist Ioan Nadejde back in January 1888: "If the despotism in Petersburg were to fall tomorrow, there would no longer be an Austria-Hungary in Europe on the day after tomorrow." During 1918, the sovereign and independent national states of the peoples in central and southeastern Europe appeared on the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire of sad memory: the Republic of Czechoslovakia, the Republic of Austria, the Republic of Hungary and so on.

The struggle of the Romanian people also fit into this movement of the peoples for national self-determination and the elimination of foreign domination. It had a broad, democratic, progressive character, attracting the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other social and political forces. In the Romanian provinces in Austria-Hungary, the news of the victory of the revolution in Russia aroused hopes and stimulated the struggle for national liberation. The great demonstrations organized throughout 1918 in Transylvania and Bucovina and the mass participation in the actions initiated by the Romanian cultural associations and societies in these territories eloquently expressed the aspirations for freedom of those parts of the Romanian people who had been under Austro-Hungarian domination for a long time.

In the historical context of the achievement of the aspirations for liberty and self-determination of the peoples, on 27 March 1918 Bessarabia entered into the composition of Romania. The breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy accelerated the struggle for the union of Bucovina with Romania. On 15 November, the congress of the representatives of the population in Bucovina, by the unanimous decision of the participants, decided on "the unconditional and perpetual union of Bucovina within its old borders."

Toward the end of 1918, the struggle to form the united national state entered a decisive stage. On 18 October 1918, in Transylvania, the Central Romanian National Council, composed of six members of the Social Democratic Party and six representatives of the Romanian National Party, was formed "as the only forum that represented the will of the Romanian people." Throughout Transylvania, regional and local national councils and national guards, which operated under the leadership of the Romanian National Council, were formed

as organs of the bourgeois democratic movement. At the same time, on the initiative of the Central Romanian National Council, preparations were made for a great people's assembly at which the Transylvanian Romanians would plainly express to the whole world their desire for union.

The 10 days in which the preparations for the assembly at Alba Iulia were made were among the most enthusiastic, most feverish, most emotional days in the history of the Romanians in Transylvania and of the whole Romanian populace, who awaited the final act of the accomplishment of their national state unity. The assemblies for electing the deputies to the grand assembly, in which workers, artisans, intellectuals, peasants, women and men, adults and young people participated, affirmed the solidarity of all the Romanians for one of the most significant moments in the history of the Romanian people--the conclusion of the process of forging the united national state.

On 1 December 1918, more than 100,000 workers, peasants, intellectuals and artisans, coming to legitimate the objective and progressive lawlike act of concluding the process of forming the Romanian united national state, gathered in Alba Iulia, on Horia's Plain. At the assembly were 1,228 delegates--politicians and leaders of the national movement--chosen by a vote of the electoral circles or of the political organizations and of the Romanian institutions in Transylvania. There were 150 delegates of the Romanian social democracy, representing nearly 70,000 organized workers, both Romanians as well as Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities. The assembly on 1 December 1918 adopted the historic Declaration of Alba Iulia, by means of which the Grand National Assembly solemnly proclaimed "the union of Transylvania and Banat with Romania for all time."

In January 1919, the German nationality in Transylvania, meeting in Medias, decided unanimously to recognize the union of Transylvania with Romania. The Saxon population's decision for union with Romania was made public by means of a manifesto, with there being sent "to the Romanian people a brotherly salute with cordial wishes for the fulfillment of their national ideals." The same attitude was also adopted by the Swabians in Banat, who, meeting in the congress at Timisoara in August 1919, expressed their desire for union with Romania, feeling that the decision of Alba Iulia was a guarantee for their ethnic and cultural development. In January 1919, the Jewish population in Transylvania also supported the decision to unite Transylvania with Romania.

The formation of the Romanian united national state was the work of all the Romanian people. The union constituted the victorious crowning of the age-old struggle waged by the most advanced forces of the Romanian people, by the scholars and great thinkers of the people, by all the Romanian people. In February 1919, referring to the just act of achieving the unity of the national state, the declaration of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and of the Provisional General Commission of Trade Unions in Romania stated: "The Romanian provinces subjugated by other nations were not able to remain outside these changes. Inhabited in their great majority by a Romanian population tormented for centuries by foreign domination, and thus

impeded in their economic, political and cultural development, these provinces emancipated themselves from this domination, becoming free. By means of the right of self-determination of the nations, a principle recognized by all international socialism, the Romanians in the subjugated territories expressed by means of the decisions of their national assemblies their desire to be united with Romania on the basis of the resolutions adopted. As internationalist Romanian socialists, we joyfully salute the national emancipation of the Romanian people in the provinces subjugated until now, and we respect the agreements on union reached... The new Romania of today must become the socialist Romania of tomorrow."

From the perspective of history, the Romanian people's great accomplishments achieved in 1918 and their confirmation by means of the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference show the fact that Romania was not one of the profiteers from a peace achieved by means of the good will of the victors or from gains brought by the chance of victory in a war. History demonstrates that the formation of the Romanian united national state was not the result of a conjunctural event but the vivid, dynamic expression of the will of the Romanian nation, of the age-old aspirations of a people determined to be united, free and independent in the ancient ancestral abode. Pointing out the historical circumstances of the achievement of this process, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that the forging of the national and united Romanian state represented not a gift, the result of international agreements, but "the outcome of the tireless struggle waged by the most advanced forces of society, by the broad masses, for union, the lawlike product of the historical, social and national development of the Romanian people."

The achievement of the unity of the Romanian state created the national, social and economic framework for the development of modern Romania and had a positive influence on the entire economic, political and social evolution of the country, for its affirmation in the international arena as a free and sovereign state.

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ROMANIA

## REPORTAGE ON ELECTION OF POPE JOHN PAUL II

### Announcement of Election

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Oct 78 p 4

[Text] On Monday evening, the conclave of 111 cardinals meeting in Vatican City appointed a new pope in the person of Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, archbishop of Cracow. The new pope, who is 58 years old, will have the name John Paul II. It is the first time since 1522 that the conclave of cardinals has elected a non-Italian pope. The last non-Italian pope, Adrian VI, was Dutch.

### Report on Polish Comment

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Oct 78 p 6

[Text] Wlodzimierz Janiurek, spokesman for the Polish government, stated Monday evening the election to the Papacy of Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, who has taken the name of John Paul II, "has a special significance for all Poles since he is the son of a nation which experienced the inferno of the most recent war and which is witness to the profound transformation of its fatherland which is engaged on the path of development in all spheres." "The Poles," the spokesman added, "appreciate everything which serves peace and favors peaceful cooperation among nations."

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

EMIGRE PRESS REPORTS ON WINE SPECULATION IN BUCHAREST

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Oct 78 p 3

[Article: "A Big Swindle of More than 50 Million Lei Discovered in Buchares"]

[Excerpts] In a short item in our last issue we reported that a big swindle amounting to more than 50 million lei had been discovered in Bucharest and party members were involved. Among those arrested were a first secretary of a party committee, a chairman of a court and a court inspector.

Here are more details. A wine store has been in operation on Calea Grivita 325 in the Grant district [of Bucharest] for more than 10 years. The manager was Gh. Stefanescu who had a salary of 1900 lei and who had three cars, villas, and houses.

Stefanescu, who was 49 years old, had two sons, Mircea and Gabriel, with whom he engineered a brilliant swindle. The trio transformed the wine store into a factory for the falsification of wines, selling the wines for their own advantage. In a fraudulent manner they procured thousands of tons of wine which were not entered into the records of the supplying vineyards and resold them, keeping the profits. They also procured refined alcohol for the manufacture of a "new" type of wine which was marketed through the official trade network.

These illicit sales brought the band a daily profit of 10,000 to 15,000 lei and about 75,000 lei during the holiday period--a lucrative business which lasted more than 10 years.

Some 33 million [lei] in cash and 29 kilograms of gold jewelry were found at the home of the persons arrested. At the home of Gh. Stefanescu on Strada Dezrobirii were found 3 million in cash and 20 kilograms of gold purchased, according to the person arrested, from various tourists who came from the FRG or Austria.

The other persons arrested are 2: Tudor Balatica, first secretary of the party committee in Sector 8 [of Bucharest], former chief engineer in "Laromet;" Fanica Mihalache, court inspector in the Bucharest municipal tribunal; Neculai

Chirila, chairman of the court in Sector 7 of Bucharest who had a salary of 4,600 lei and top-level contacts with the party officials and who has a brother in Madrid who is chief of the Romanian economic delegation there; Radu Niculescu, uncle of Gheorghe Stefanescu, manager of the wine store on Strada Goldfaden, in whose home were found 2,600,000 lei in cash and 4 kg. of gold; Ion Zamfir, director of the Valea Calugareasca winemaking combine; Valeriu Perisoara, chief accountant in the Cotesti State Agricultural Enterprise [IAS]; Constantin Cotovelea, director of the Agency for the Public Domain, in Sector 8; Ionel Joita, chief accountant in "Cocorul" and manager of the "Capitol" pastry shop, formerly the "Tic-Tac"; Ioan Filip, deputy director of the Local Public Food Service Enterprise [IAPL] in Sector 8; Dumitru Mitran, director of the IAPL in Sector 6. In addition to these there were arrested nine wine-cellar chiefs from various IAS and the directors of the "Biofarm" and "Policolor" enterprises in Bucharest who took from these enterprises more than 40,000 liters of refined alcohol which Stefanescu used in making the "new type" of wines.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

WELL-KNOWN FILMMAKERS KILLED IN 'TRAGIC ACCIDENT'

[Editorial Report] An announcement from the collective of RECOOP [the Consumer Cooperatives' Technical Enterprise for Commercial Advertising and Publicity] appearing in Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 October 1978 page 4, in the obituary column, reports the death "in a tragic accident" of the following "collaborators" of the enterprise: Cezar Grigoriu, Gore Ionescu, Aurel Iancu, Gheorghe Marosan, and Traian Busuioc. Other obituaries appearing in this issue of the source and in the 18 October issue reveal that the accident occurred the evening of 14 October. Andrei Cernescu, identified as a RECOOP worker, is also reported to have died in a "tragic accident" on 14 October. A notice from a collective of workers in the Romaniafilm Central Office, the Bucharest Cinematographic Production Center, and the House of Films expresses sorrow at the death of "chief operator" Grigore Ionescu and "director" Cezar Grigoriu, "well-known filmmakers with a rich activity who have enscribed their names in the achievements of national cinematography." A tribute to Cezar Grigoriu by the Association of Filmmakers commends him for his direction of the film "Dragostea la zero grade" [Love at Zero Degrees] and his activity in the production of tourism and propaganda films which won him reknown in specialized international competitions. According to a message from the Association of Filmmakers, Gore [Grigore] Ionescu was a founding member of the Association and chief cameraman in the Bucharest studio.

CSO: 2700

## BRIEFS

ARREST OF WINE SPECULATORS--Recently a number of managers of wine depositories in Bucharest were arrested. They were taking wine from the vineyards and speculating with it to their own advantage. Some of them succeeded in accumulating immense sums of money as a result of this type of swindling. Here are their names: Radu Niculescu (manager of the depository on Avram Goldfaden St No 1), Ion Gangureanu (Razoare St No 17), Stefan Cristea (13 Septembrie Rd No 6), Dumitru Vieriu (Pantelimon Highway No 32), Ion Dragan (Aviator Radu Beller St No 4), Constantin Croitoru (Dudesti Rd No 145), Vasile Nedelcu (1 Mai Square), Ilie Didin (Grivita Rd No 235). [Text] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Oct 78 p 5]

IASI OFFICIALS PENALIZED--For lack of concern for good management in Ciurea Commune in Iasi County, Maria Proca, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council was penalized by reduction of remuneration for the month of July and the secretary of the executive committee was fired for being incompetent. [Text] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Oct 78 p 5]

DEATH OF METRO OFFICIAL--The party committee, the council of workers and the entire collective of the Metro Enterprise in Bucharest announce the unexpected death of their colleague, deputy director general, engineer Nicolae Popa. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Oct 78 p 4]

DEATH OF HISTORIAN--The Presidium of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences announces the death of Prof Dr Mihai Berza, titular member of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, leader and director of the collective of researchers in the Institute of Southeastern European Studies since its establishment 15 years ago, member of the International Committee of the International Association for Southeastern European Studies, resident of the Romanian national committee of the association and of the Commission for the History of Ideas, member of many scientific societies and academies abroad. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Oct 78 p 4]

DEATH OF SCIENTIST--The department of mechanics of the faculty of mathematics of Bucharest University expresses deep sorrow in regard to the death of the distinguished scientist, doctor professor docent Stefan I. Gheorghita, specialist in the area of hydrodynamics and the theory of filtration, professor in the faculty of mathematics. [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Oct 78 p 4]



YUGOSLAVIA

ZAGREB PAPER NOTES 'NEW' INFORMATION ON CROATIAN TERRORISM

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Aug 78 pp 20-21

[Article by Djordje Licina: "Anatomy of a Criminal"]

[Excerpts] Monstrous Plans with Rocket Launchers

What sort of action this was to be is best attested by the testimony of the fascist terrorists Zlatko Grbesa and Nenad Marketic, who were arrested in Zagreb in 1974 by our security organs, after it was discovered that they were preparing a series of assassinations and subversions in the capital of Croatia. In 1971, Grbesa contacted the Ustasa terrorist priest Rafael Medic in Donauworth, FRG, and through him Stjepan Bilandzic, who at that time was the head of the Croatian National Resistance (HNO) terrorist organization. According to the testimony that the captured terrorists gave to the investigating organs, Bilandzic created the plan to form an illegal Ustasa terrorist organization based on a system of two-man teams, whose mission was to be assassination attempts on prominent representatives of the government and sociopolitical organizations in the Socialist Republic (SR) of Croatia, as well as to organize subversion and sabotage against important economic installations and state, cultural and other organizations. Also, another part of the mission of this terrorist group was to cause panic and chaos in the country through mass murders and bombings of citizens' assemblies.

At the end of 1974, Grbesa and Marketic met Bilandzic in Roth, FRG, and worked out in detail the plans for assassinations and subversions in the country. From Bilandzic they received not only instructions but also weapons--two shoulder-held 66 mm caliber rocket launchers, two kilograms of explosives, five electrical detonators, two clocks with detonators, four fuses suitable for laying explosive charges, etc. They transported the subversionary material across the border illegally on 15 October 1974. Six days later they returned to the FRG and, according to a previous agreement, they met Stjepan Bilandzic and his brother Ivan in Cologne on 25 October. During this meeting they worked out in great detail the plans for several terrorist actions in the SR Croatia, according to each individual phase. Among other things, it was planned that Grbesa, Marketic and their group would execute several subversionary actions in Yugoslavia.

Before their return to Zagreb, the two terrorists received from the Bilandzic brothers propaganda material and training manuals for the Zagreb terrorist group. At the same time, they were given 1,000 marks to purchase pistols, three defensive hand grenades and two revolvers with 256 rounds of ammunition.

According to statements by Grbesa and Marketic, Stjepan Bilandzic tested the technical and tactical characteristics of the rocket launchers on a specially arranged firing range in the FRG, before their final return to Yugoslavia. Fortunately, the terrorists were unable to test killing capability and strong firepower in Yugoslavia; they were arrested before they could carry out even one of their assignments. Both of them, as well as their accomplices, were sentenced on 23 March 1975 to lengthy prison terms in front of the Grand Council of the Zagreb District Court.

Many circumstances came to the fore during the investigation and trial of the terrorist group in Zagreb, which portray Stjepan Bilandzic's criminal activity in the FRG in its true light. Among other things, it was established that two members of Bilandzic's terrorist group "Otpor" (which, in reality, was a branch of Luburic's HNO in the FRG), along with their boss' knowledge, stole the shoulder-held rocket launchers from the American military base in Miesen. Grbesa and Marketic smuggled two launchers with rockets into Zagreb, while the third one was discovered by the German police during a search of the Bilandzic brothers' apartment in Cologne. The police found, in the same apartment, three hand grenades stolen from the American military base in Weiberbach. Our official organs found identical grenades during their search in Zagreb. The search of the quarters used by the terrorists in Cologne and Zagreb also established that the explosives found in Bilandzic's apartment and in Zagreb had the same markings and properties, which certainly points to the conclusion that it was Stjepan Bilandzic himself who was not only the direct organizer of the arms theft from the American bases in the FRG but also the immediate supervisor of the terrorist activities of the Ustasa mercenaries Grbesa and Marketic.

West German police also searched Grbesa's apartment in Roth: They found a box containing a time detonator (Grbesa stated that he had made it in 1972 for the priest Rafael Medic), the launching tube from a rocket launcher, two walkie-talkie sets and a complete set for activating explosives by radio (Grbesa, according to his own statement, had made and delivered four such sets to Stjepan Bilandzic). Bilandzic taught the terrorists that he sent how to handle the rocket launchers and timed explosives and, had they been able to carry out even a portion of their planned monstrous actions, the tragic consequences would have been unimaginable.

The weapons, ammunition, explosives and other material found during the search of Bilandzic's apartment only confirmed his intentions and the terrorist character of his "benevolent" organization. In spite of the fact that in the world of the terrorist underground many transactions are conducted secretly, the majority of details concerning them are not unknown. According to statements by Grbesa and Marketic, which were at the disposal

of the Criminal Council of the Supreme District Court in Koln during the time of the decision concerning the extradition, unquestionably indicate that Stjepan Bilandzic and his brother Ivan are the ideological nucleus and the main support of many of the terrorist actions which have taken place in the past few years on the FRG soil, and which were directed against Yugoslav institutions and citizens engaged in temporary employment abroad. The statements also confirm the fact that the Bilandzic brothers had detailed knowledge of all the activities of several other terrorist organizations in the FRG, particularly those which had declared themselves as followers and co-thinkers of the Ustasa criminal Vjekoslav Luburic and his "Croatian National Resistance."

It has been established that Bilandzic was in the background behind the revolver shots fired on 28 June 1976 at the Yugoslav vice-consul in Dusseldorf, Vladimir Topic. Two of Bilandzic's executioners, Marko Krpan and Pavle Perovic, ambushed Topic in front of the house at 13 Lindemann Strasse. The armed assassin, and this time it was Krpan, fired without warning six shots at the vice-consul. Fortunately, not one of them hit the mark. The assailants were captured that very day, and even from the initial preliminary questioning it became evident that all the threads in this criminal game were held by Stjepan Bilandzic's hands. The green Fiat with the license plate K-PN 384, which was driven by the assailants from Cologne to Dusseldorf, belonged to Bilandzic's spouse and it was Bilandzic himself who planned the attempt and armed the assailant.

Bilandzic was also involved in Perovic's escape from the Cologne prison. Thanks to a well organized network of collaborators, the fugitive successfully hid himself from search for 16 days in the FRG, Belgium, France and Canada, where he was finally arrested and extradited to the German judicial authorities.

Finally, let us add that during the attempt on vice-consul Vladimir Topic's life, Bilandzic was vacationing in Spain, in order to secure an alibi for himself. The connection between Krpan, Perovic and Bilandzic was proven in court, but no action was taken against the organizer of the attempt. However, after the decision by the Cologne Supreme Court, which approved the extradition of Bilandzic to Yugoslavia, the German circles have begun to advance the possibility that the Cologne court came across new evidence which either did not exist at the time of the Dusseldorf trial or else was not placed at the disposal of the court.

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